

COMMENT ON KHRUSHCHEV'S DENUNCIATION OF STALIN
AND SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS

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Text of the Soviet Communist Party Announcement on the Anti-Stalin Campaign

The following is the complete text of the resolution by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party, as distributed by The United Press. Most of the text appeared in late editions of The New York Times yesterday but transmission from London was still incomplete when the final edition went to press.

I
The Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that the decisions of the historic Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union have met with full approval and ardent support by the whole of our party, the whole of the Soviet people, fraternal Communist and Workers parties, the working people of the great commonwealth of Socialist countries, by millions of people in capitalist and colonial countries.

And this is understandable, since the twentieth party congress, which marks a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, has given a thorough analysis of the present international and internal situation, has armed the Communist party and the whole of the Soviet people with a majestic plan for the further struggle of building of communism, has opened new prospects for joint actions of all parties of the working class for eliminating the threat of another war, and for the interests of the working people.

Implementing the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist party, are attaining new and outstanding successes in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life of the country. The Soviet people have rallied still closer around the Communist party and are displaying high creative activity in the struggle for the implementation of

the tasks set by the Twentieth Congress.

The period which has elapsed since the congress has at the same time revealed the great living force of its decisions for the international Communist and workers movement, and for the struggle of all progressive forces for the strengthening of universal peace. Important fundamental theoretical theses on peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars during the present era, and on the various forms of transition of countries to socialism, set forth by the congress, are having a beneficial influence on the international situation, are promoting the easing of tension and the strengthening of the unity of action of all forces struggling for peace and democracy, for a further consolidation of the positions of the world system of socialism.

While among the Soviet people, among the working people in the people's democracies and throughout the world, the historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress have caused great enthusiasm and a new upsurge of creative initiative and revolutionary energy, in the camp of the enemies of the working class they have given rise to alarm and rancor. Reactionary quarters of the United States and several other capitalist countries are clearly perturbed by the great program of struggle for strengthening peace mapped out by the Twentieth Congress. Their anxiety grows as this program is being actively and consistently put into effect.

Anti-Red Attacks Noted

Why is it that the enemies of communism and socialism are concentrating their attacks on the shortcomings about which the Central Committee of our party spoke at the Twentieth Congress? They are doing so in order to distract the atten-

tion of the working class and its party from the major questions advanced by the Twentieth Congress of the party which are clearing the way to further successes of the cause of peace, socialism and unity of the working class. The decisions of the twentieth party congress, the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Government, have caused confusion in the imperialist quarters of the United States and other states.

The courageous and consistent foreign policy of the U. S. S. R. in insuring peace and cooperation between states, irrespective of their social order, finds support among the broadest people's masses in all countries of the world, is widening the front of peace-loving states, and is causing a deep crisis of the "cold-war" policy, the policy of setting up military blocs and the arms drive.

It is not fortuitous that the loudest hue and cry around the struggle against the personality cult in the U. S. S. R. has been raised by United States imperialist circles. The presence of negative phenomena, connected with the personality cult, suited their book, so that by exploiting these facts, they could struggle against socialism. Now that our party is courageously overcoming the consequences of the personality cult, the imperialists see in it a factor which is accelerating the progress of our country to communism, and which is weakening the positions of capitalism.

Endeavoring to weaken the great attracting forces of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and their effect upon the broadest people's masses, the ideologists of capitalism are resorting to all sorts of tricks and devices to distract the attention of the working people from the advanced and inspiring ideas posed before mankind by the Socialist world.

Of late the bourgeois press has launched an extensive slanderous anti-Soviet campaign, which the reactionary circles are trying to base on certain facts connected with the condemnation by the Soviet Communist party of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin. The promoters of this campaign are making every effort to confuse the issue and conceal the fact that the question at issue is a past stage in the life of the Soviet country. They also want to pass over in silence and to distort the fact that the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government during the years since Stalin's death have, with exceptional persistence and determination been liquidating the consequences of the personality cult and are successfully implementing the new tasks in the interest of strengthening peace, building communism, in the interest of the broad people's masses.

Launching a slanderous campaign, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are again, though unsuccessfully, endeavoring to cast a shadow on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to undermine the trust of the working people in the first Socialist country in the world, the U. S. S. R., and to sow confusion in the ranks of the international Communist and workers movement.

The experience of history teaches that the enemies of international proletarian unity have in the past repeatedly tried to make use of what they thought were favorable moments for undermining the international unity of the Communist and worker parties, for splitting the international working movement and for weakening the forces of the Socialist camp, but every time the Communist and Workers parties discerned the maneuvers of the enemies of socialism, closed their ranks still closer, demon-

strating their indestructible political unity and unswerving loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Red Errors Conceded

The fraternal Communist and Worker parties also discerned this maneuver of the enemies of socialism in time and are giving it the rebuff it deserves. At the same time it would be wrong to close one's eyes to the fact that certain of our friends abroad have not got to the bottom of the question of the personality cult and its consequences and are tolerating at times a wrong interpretation of certain of its aspects.

In its criticism of the personality cult the party proceeds from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Already for more than three years our party has been waging a consistent struggle against the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, firmly overcoming its evil consequences.

Naturally, this question occupied an important place in the work of the Twentieth Congress and its decisions. The congress noted that the Central Committee, quite rightly and timely, came out against the personality cult, the spread of which belittled the role of the party and the popular masses, lowered the role of collective leadership in the party and frequently brought about grave omissions in work and gross violations of socialist laws. The congress empowered the Central Committee to carry out consistent measures to ensure the complete elimination of the personality cult, so alien to Marxism-Leninism; to liquidate its consequences in all spheres of party, state and ideological work, and to implement strictly the norms of party life and the principles of the collectivity of party leadership laid down by the great Lenin.

In the struggle against the cult of personality the party leadership is guided by the known tenets of Marxism-Leninism on the roles of the popular masses, party and individual personalities in history, on the inadmissibility of the personality cult of a political leader, however great his merits.

The founder of scientific communism, Karl Marx, stressing his dislike of "any personality cult," used to say that he and Friedrich Engels joined the League of Communists "on condition that everything contributing to the superstitious worship of authorities be thrown out of the Charter."

In founding our Communist party, V. I. Lenin fought un-

remittingly against the anti-Marxist conception of the "hero" and the "crowd" and resolutely condemned the practice of setting the individual hero over the popular masses.

"The wisdom of tens of millions of creators," V. I. Lenin used to say, "creates something immeasurably higher than the greatest foresight of genius."

Cult Found Obstacle

In putting forward the question of the struggle against the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, the Central Committee proceeded from the fact that the personality cult contradicts the nature of Socialist order and became an obstacle on the way to the development of Soviet democracy and the advancement of the Socialist society toward communism.

The twentieth party congress, on the initiative of the Central Committee, deemed it necessary to speak out courageously and frankly about the grave consequences of the personality cult and the serious errors tolerated during the latter period of Stalin's life, and to call upon the entire party to make a joint effort to put an end to everything the personality cult entailed. At the same time the Central Committee was fully aware that the frank admission of errors tolerated would be linked to certain shortcomings and losses which might be exploited by enemies. The courageous self-criticism in the question of the personality cult was a new and brilliant proof of the force and strength of our party and of the Soviet Socialist regime. One can say with assurance that not a single one of the ruling parties of the capitalist countries would ever have risked taking a similar step. On the contrary, they would have tried to conceal such unpleasant facts from the people and pass over in silence such unpleasant facts.

But the Soviet Communist party, brought up on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, told the whole truth, no matter how bitter. The party resolved to take this step exclusively on its own initiative, being guided by the consideration that if the stand taken against the cult of Stalin caused some temporary difficulties, it would still, from the point of view of the vital interests and ultimate aims of the working class, have a vast positive result. This creates firm guarantees that in the fu-

ture phenomena similar to the personality cult can never appear in our party and our country and that in the future the leadership of the party and the

country will be carried out collectively on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist policy and wide inner party democracy, with the active creative participation of millions of workers.

Having taken a resolute stand against the personality cult and its consequences, having openly subjected to criticism the mistakes to which it gave rise, the party has demonstrated once more its devotion to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the people, its solicitude for creating the best conditions for the development of the party and Soviet democracy in the interests of successful Communist construction in our country.

The Central Committee notes that the discussion in party organizations and at general meetings of workers of the question of the personality cult and its consequences took place amid great activity of party members and nonparty men, that the Central Committee line found full approval and support among the party and people.

The publicizing by the party of the facts of the violation of Socialist law and other errors connected with the personality cult of J. V. Stalin naturally cause feelings of bitterness and profound regret. But the Soviet people understand that the condemnation of the personality cult was necessary in the interests of the construction of communism, whose active participants they are. The Soviet people sees that the party has in recent years insistently carried out practical measures aimed at removing the consequences of the personality cult in all spheres of party, state, economic and cultural construction. As a result of this work the party, whose internal forces are no longer fettered, has come still closer to the people and is now in a state of unprecedented creative activity.

II

How could the personality cult of Stalin, with all its negative consequences, arise and acquire such currency under the conditions of a Soviet Socialist regime?

When examining this question one must bear in mind both the objective and concrete conditions in which the building of socialism in the U. S. S. R. took place, as well as some subjective factors connected with the personal qualities of Stalin.

The October Socialist Revolution entered history as a classic example of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, carried out under the leadership of the working

class. By the example of the heroic struggle of the Bolshevik party, the first Socialist state in the world, Communist parties in other countries and all progressive and democratic forces are learning the experience of solving the vital social questions arising from present-day social development.

In the course of almost forty years, the building of a Socialist society of workers of our country, vast experience has been accumulated which is being creatively studied and assimilated by workers of other Socialist states, in accordance with their concrete conditions.

This was the first experience in history of building a Socialist society which was formed in the process, the test in practice of many truths hitherto only known to Socialists in general outline and theory. For more than a quarter of a century, the Soviet land was the only country which paved for mankind the way to socialism. It was like a besieged fortress situated in a capitalist encirclement. After the abortive intervention of fourteen states in 1918-1922, the enemies of the Soviet country in the West and East continued to prepare new "crusades" against the U. S. S. R.

Enemies sent into the U. S. S. R. a large number of spies and diversionists who tried in every way to undermine the first Socialist state in the world. The threat of a new imperialist aggression against the U. S. S. R. became particularly intense after the advent to power of fascism in Germany in 1933, which proclaimed as its aim the destruction of communism, the destruction of the Soviet Union, the first workers' state in the world. Everyone remembers the formation of the so-called anti-Comintern pact and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, which were actively supported by the forces of all international reaction. In an atmosphere of a growing threat of war, the rejection by the Western powers of the measures to curb fascism and organize collective security repeatedly proposed by the Soviet Union, the state was compelled to strain every nerve to strengthen defense and struggle against the intrigues of the harmful capitalist encirclement. The party had to train the whole people in a spirit of constant vigilance and readiness in the face of foreign enemies.

Early Struggle Related

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous because for a long time an embittered class struggle had been going in the country and the question of who would gain the upper hand was being

decided. After the death of Lenin, hostile trends became active in the party, Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists whose position was a rejection of Lenin's theory on the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country.

This would actually have led to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The party unleashed a merciless struggle against these enemies of Leninism.

Fulfilling Lenin's behests, the Communist party set a course towards the Socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture and the realization of a cultural revolution.

In the course of solving these majestic tasks of building a Socialist society in one separate country, the Soviet people and the Communist party had to overcome unimaginable difficulties and obstacles. In the shortest space of time, our country, without any economic help whatsoever from abroad, had to liquidate its centuries-old backwardness and reshape the entire national economy on new Socialist foundations.

This complicated national and international situation demanded iron discipline, evergrowing vigilance and a most strict centralization of leadership which inevitably had a negative effect on the development of certain democratic features.

In the course of a fierce struggle against the whole world of imperialism, our country had to submit to certain restrictions of democracy, justified by the logic of the struggle of our people for socialism in circumstances of capitalist encirclement. But these restrictions were already at that time regarded by the party and people as temporary, subject to removal as the Soviet state grew stronger and the forces of democracy and socialism developed throughout the world. The people deliberately accepted these temporary sacrifices in view of the ever-new successes daily achieved by the Soviet social order.

All these difficulties on the path of building socialism were overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist party and its Central Committee, which consistently carried out Lenin's general line.

The victory socialism in our country in conditions of enemy encirclement and a constant threat of attack from outside was a world-historic deed on the part of the Soviet people. During the first five-year plans, as a result of intense and heroic efforts by the people

and party, our economically backward country made a gigantic leap in its economic and cultural development. On the basis of the successes in Socialist construction the living standards of the workers were raised and unemployment was liquidated for good. The profoundest cultural revolution took place in the country.

In a short space of time the Soviet people reared numerous cadres of a technical intelligentsia, which took its place on the level of world technical progress and put Soviet science and technology among the first in the world. The inspirer and organizer of these victories was the great party of Communists. On the example of the U.S.S.R., workers and peasants who had taken power into their own hands could successfully build and develop their Socialist state without capitalists and land-owners, expressing and defending the interests of wide people's masses. All this played a great inspiring role in the growth and influence of Communist and Workers parties in all countries of the world.

'Devoted to Marxism-Leninism'

Holding the position of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the party for a lengthy period, J. V. Stalin, together with other leaders, actively struggled for the realization of Lenin's behests. He was devoted to Marxism-Leninism, and as a theoretician and good organizer headed the struggle of the party against the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists and against the intrigues of capitalist encirclement.

In this political and ideological struggle Stalin acquired great authority and popularity. However, all our great victories began to be incorrectly connected with his name. The successes attained by the Communist party and the Soviet

country and the adulation of Stalin went to his head. In this atmosphere the cult of Stalin's personality began gradually to take shape.

The development of the personality cult was to an enormous extent contributed to by some individual traits of J. V. Stalin, whose negative character was already pointed out by V. I. Lenin. At the end of 1922 Lenin sent a letter to the current party congress, in which he said:

"Comrade Stalin, by becoming General Secretary, has concentrated vast power in his hands. I am not certain that he will always be able to use this power sufficiently carefully."

In a postscript to this letter written at the beginning of

January, 1923, V. I. Lenin reverted to the question of some personal traits of Stalin intolerable in a leader.

"Stalin is too rude," wrote Lenin, "and this shortcoming which is quite tolerable in our midst and among us Communists, becomes intolerable in the office of the General Secretary. I therefore invite the comrades to think of a way of removing Stalin from this post and appointing to the post another person who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin—to wit, is more tolerant, more loyal, more polite, more attentive toward comrades and less capricious."

At the thirteenth party congress, which was held soon after V. I. Lenin's death, his letters were made known to the delegates. As a result of the discussion of these documents it was recognized as expedient to leave Stalin at his post as Secretary General, on condition, however, that he took Lenin's criticism into consideration and drew all the necessary conclusions.

Having remained at the post as General Secretary, Stalin, in the first period after Vladimir Ilyich's death, took into account his critical remarks. Later on, however, Stalin, having excessively overrated his merits, believed in his own infallibility.

Plenary sessions of the Central Committee and congresses of the party were held irregularly, and later they were not convened for many years. In fact, Stalin found himself outside criticism.

Great harm to the cause of Socialist construction and the development of democracy inside the party and the state was inflicted by Stalin's erroneous formula that as the Soviet Union moved toward socialism the class struggle would allegedly become more and more acute. This formula, which is only correct for certain stages of the transition period, when the question of "Who will beat whom?" is being solved, when a persistent class struggle for the building of the foundations of socialism was in progress, was put forward into the first plan in 1937 at a moment when socialism had already triumphed in our country and the exploiting classes and their economic base had been liquidated.

Beria's Role Related

In practice, this erroneous theoretical formula was the basis for the grossest violations of Socialist law and mass repressions.

It was in these circumstances that special conditions were created in particular for the state security organs, in

whom enormous confidence reposed as a result of their indubitable services to the people and country in the defense of the conquests of the revolution. For a considerable period of time the state security organs justified this confidence and their special position did not cause any danger. The situation changed when the control of them by the party and Government was gradually replaced by the personal control of Stalin and the normal administration of justice was often superseded by his personal decisions.

The situation became even more complicated when the criminal band of the agent of international imperialism, [Lavrenti P.] Beria, was put at the head of the state security organs. Serious violations of Soviet law and mass repressions occurred. As a result of enemy machinations, many honest Communists and Soviet non-party men were slandered and suffered innocently.

The twentieth party congress and the entire policy of the Central Committee after the death of Stalin bear vivid testimony to the fact that within the Central Committee of the party a Leninist core of leaders had come into being who correctly understood pressing requirements in the sphere both of internal and external policy. It cannot be said that there was no counter-action against the negative manifestations which were connected with the personality cult and put a brake on the advance of socialism.

Moreover, there were certain periods, for instance during the war years, when the individual acts of Stalin were sharply restricted, when the negative consequences of lawlessness and arbitrariness were substantially diminished.

It is known that precisely during this very war period members of the Central Committee and also outstanding Soviet war commanders took over certain sectors of activity in the rear and at the front, made independent decisions, and through their organizational, political, economic and military work, together with local party and Soviet organizations, insured the victory of the Soviet people in the war. After victory the negative consequences of the cult of personality re-emerged with great force.

Action Said to Be Barred

The Leninist core of the Central Committee immediately after the death of Stalin set a course of resolute struggle against the personality cult and its grave consequences.

It might be asked why these people did not take an open stand against Stalin and remove him from the leadership? This could not be done in the circumstances which had arisen.

Facts undoubtedly bear out that Stalin was guilty of many lawless deeds, particularly in the later period of his life. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a person who always acted in defense of the U. S. S. R. against the intrigues of the enemies and struggles for the cause of socialism. At times he applied in this struggle unworthy methods and violated the Leninist principles of party life. Therein lay the tragedy of Stalin.

But all this made the struggle against the lawless deeds perpetrated at the time more difficult, since the success of Socialist construction and the consolidation of the U. S. S. R. were attributed to Stalin. Any action against him in those conditions would not have been understood by the people, and this does not mean there was a lack of personal courage involved. It is obvious that anyone who had acted in that situation against Stalin would not have received support from the people. Moreover, such a stand would in those conditions have been regarded as a stand against the cause of Socialist construction and a blow against the unity of the party and the whole state, extremely dangerous in the presence of capitalist encirclement.

In addition, the successes which the working people of the Soviet Union attained under the leadership of their Communist party aroused justifiable pride in the heart of every Soviet person and created an atmosphere in which individual mistakes and shortcomings seemed less important against the background of enormous successes, while the negative consequences of these mistakes were quickly made good by the colossal growth of the vital forces of the party and Soviet society.

One should also bear in mind that many facts and wrong actions of Stalin, especially as regards the violation of Soviet law, became known only in recent times, after his death, mainly in connection with the exposure of the Beria gang and the establishment of party control over the organs of state security.

Such are the main conditions and causes which resulted in the emergence and currency of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin. Obviously, everything that has been said explains,

but in no way justifies, the Stalin cult and its consequences, which have been so sharply and justly condemned by our party.

III

Indisputably the personality cult has inflicted serious harm on the cause of the Communist party and Soviet society. It would, however, be a serious mistake to deduce from the past existence of the cult of personality some kind of changes in the social order in the U. S. S. R. or to look for the source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social order. Both alternatives are absolutely wrong, as they do not accord with reality and conflict with the facts.

In spite of all the evil which the personality cult of Stalin has done to the party and the people, it could not change and has not changed the nature of the social order.

Even Stalin was not big enough to change the state. No personality cult could change the nature of the Socialist state, based on public ownership of the means of production, the union of the working class and peasantry, and the friendship of peoples, although this cult did inflict serious damage on the development of Socialist democracy and the upsurge of the creative initiative of the millions.

To imagine that an individual personality, even such a large one as Stalin, could change our politico-social order means to enter into profound contradiction with the facts, with Marxism and with truth and to give way to idealism. This would mean to attribute to an individual personality such excessive and supernatural powers as an ability to change the order of a society and a social order in which the many-million strong masses of working people are the decisive force.

As it is known, the nature of the social-political regime is determined by the nature of the means of production, to whom the means of production belong and in the hands of what class political authority is vested. The whole world knows that in our country, as a result of the October Revolution and the victory of socialism, the Socialist means of production have been consolidated and that for nearly forty years in the hands of the working class and peasantry. Thanks to this, the Soviet social regime is gaining in strength from year to year and its productive forces are grow-

ing. This is a fact which even our ill-wishers cannot fail to admit.

The consequences of the personality cult were, as is known, certain serious mistakes in the leadership of various branches of the party and Soviet state, both in the internal life of the Soviet country and in its foreign policy. One can, in particular, point to serious shortcomings countenanced by Stalin in the direction of agriculture, in organizing the country's preparedness to repel the Fascist invaders, and in the gross arbitrariness which led to a conflict with Yugoslavia of individual sides of the Soviet state's life, particularly in the last years of I. V. Stalin's life, in the development of Soviet society. But, it goes without saying, they did not divert it from the correct road towards communism.

Our enemies assert that the personality cult of Stalin was not engendered by finite historical conditions which have already sunk into the past but by the Soviet system itself, by what they consider to be its link to democratism and so on. Such slanderous assertions are refuted by the entire history of the development of the Soviet state. The Soviet as a new democratic form of state authority arose as a result of the creative revolutionary activity of the broadest popular masses who had risen to the struggle for freedom. They were and remain organs of genuine popular authority. It is precisely the Soviet regime which created the possibility of discerning the immense creative energies of the people.

World War II Test Outed

It set in motion inexhaustible forces inherent in the popular masses, drew millions of people towards conscious direction of the state, into creative participation in the construction of socialism. In a historically short space of time the Soviet state came out victorious from the most difficult of tests and passed its baptism of fire in the World War II.

When the last exploiting classes were liquidated in our country, when socialism became the dominant system in the entire national economy, while the international situation of our country had radically changed, the scope of Soviet democracy has been incalculably expanding and is continuing to do so.

Unlike any kind of bourgeois democracies, Soviet democracy not only proclaims the right of all members of Soviet society, without exception, to work, education and leisure, participation in state affairs, freedom

of speech and of the press, freedom of consciousness and also a real possibility for the free development of personal abilities and other democratic rights and freedoms, but also insures them materially.

The essence of democracy lies not in formal indications but in whether the political authority services and reflects in act on the will and basic interests of the majority of the people and workers. The entire internal and foreign policy of the Soviet state proclaims the fact that our regime is a truly democratic popular regime.

The highest aim of the Soviet state is to raise the population's living standards in every respect and secure a peaceful existence for its people.

A testimony to the further development of Soviet democracy are the measures which are being put through for the party and government for extending the rights and competence of union republics, the strict adherence to law and reorganization of the system of planning with the aim of fostering local initiative, activating work in local soviets and developing criticism and self-criticism.

In spite and regardless of the personality cult, the mighty initiative of the popular masses led by the Communist party and engendered by our regime has performed its great historical task, overcoming all barriers on the way to the construction of socialism. And in this the democratic nature of the Soviet regime finds its highest expression. The outstanding victories of socialism in our country did not come of themselves. They were gained thanks to the tremendous organizational and educational work of the party and its local bodies, thanks to the fact that the party has always brought up its cadres and all Communists in a spirit of loyalty to marxism and leninism, in a spirit of devotion to the cause of communism.

The Soviet society is strong through an awareness of the masses. Its historic destinies were determined and are still being determined by the creative labors of our historic working class, our glorious collective farm peasantry and popular intelligentsia.

For liquidating the consequences of the personality cult, for restoring Bolshevik norms of the party life and by deploying Socialist democracy, our party achieved a further

strengthening of its ties with broad masses, rallied them still closer under the great Leninist banner

The fact that the party itself boldly and openly posed the question of liquidating the personality cult, the question of inadmissible mistakes made by Stalin, is a convincing testimony that our party firmly stands on guard for Leninism, the cause of socialism and communism, the maintenance of Socialist law and interests of the people, and the safeguarding of the rights of Soviet citizens. This is the best proof of the force and viability of the Soviet Socialist regime. It speaks at the same time for the determination to eradicate to the end the consequences of the personality cult and not allow mistakes of such a nature to be repeated in the future.

The condemnation by our party of the personality cult of Stalin and its consequences evoked the approval and wide response of all brotherly Communist and Workers' parties. Noting the significance of the Twentieth Party Congress to the entire international Communist and workers' movement, the Communists of foreign countries regard the struggle against the personality cult and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of Marxist and Leninist principles, for a creative approach to the solution of contemporary problems of the international workers' movement, for its affirmation and further development of principles of proletarian internationalism.

In statements of a number of brotherly Communist parties, approval and support is expressed for the measures against the personality cult carried out by our party. The organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, the People's Daily, describing the conclusions reached and discussing the decisions of the Twentieth Party Government held by the Politburo of the Chinese Communist party, says in an editorial entitled "historic experience of dictatorship of proletariat:

"The Communist party of the Soviet Union, following Lenin's behests, deals seriously with some grave errors countenanced by Stalin in directing Socialist construction and the consequences they have provoked. Because of the gravity of these consequences, the Soviet party was faced with the need, while admitting the great services of J. V. Stalin, to reveal with all urgency the essence of the mistakes Stalin allowed to occur and to urge the entire party to beware of a repetition of this, and to urge it resolutely to eradicate the consequences engendered by these shortcomings."

Chinese Red Backing Quoted

"The Communists of China profoundly believe that after sharp criticism developed at the Twentieth Congress, all active factors which were severely restricted in the past because of certain political mistakes will indubitably be set in motion everywhere, that the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be united as never before in the struggle to build a great Communist society as never before seen in history, in a struggle for a stable peace throughout the world."

"The merit of the leaders of the Soviet Communist party," reads a statement by the Politburo of the French Communist party, "lies in their having undertaken to correct the mistakes and shortcomings connected with the personality cult, a fact that testifies to the force and unity of the great party of Lenin, to the confidence which it enjoys among the Soviet people, and swells its authority among the international workers' movement."

The general secretary of the National Committee of the United States Communist party, Eugene Dennis, noting the tremendous significance of the twentieth congress, states in his well known article: "The twentieth congress strengthened universal peace and social progress. It marked a new stage in the development of socialism and in the struggle for peaceful coexistence which started in the time of Lenin, was pursued in subsequent year and is becoming more and more effective and successful."

At the same time it should be noted that when discussing the question of the personality cult a correct interpretation of the reasons which engendered it has not always been given. For instance, a substantial and interesting interview given by Comrade [Palmiro] Togliatti [Italian Communist leader] to the magazine Nuovi Argumenti contains, alongside many of the most important and correct deductions, also some incorrect ones. One cannot, in particular, agree with Comrade Togliatti when he asks whether Soviet society has not reached "certain forms of degeneration?" There are no foundations for such a question. It is all the more incomprehensible because in another part of his interview Comrade Togliatti says quite correctly: "It must be deduced that the essence of the Socialist regime was not lost, since none of the preceding gains were lost, nor did the regime lose support of the working masses of workers, peasants and intel-

lectuals who form Soviet society. This support proves in itself that, in spite of everything, society retained its main democratic character."

And indeed without the support of the broadest popular masses of the Soviet regime for the policy of the Communist party, our country would not have been able to create in an unprecedentedly short space of time a powerful Socialist industry or to carry out collectivization of agriculture and it would have been unable to gain a victory in the World War II, on whose outcome the fate of all mankind rested.

As a result of the complete route of Hitlerism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the forces of the Communist movement extensively developed, grew in scope and became mass Communist parties in Italy, France and other capitalist countries. People's democracies were established in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, a world system of socialism arose and was consolidated, and the national liberation movement which led to the disintegration of the colonial system attained unprecedented successes.

IV

The Soviet party congress, unanimously approving the decisions of the party, which condemned the personality cult, the Communists and all Soviet people see in them a proof of the increased force of our party, its Leninist adherence to principles, its unity and integration. "A party of the revolutionary proletariat," V. I. Lenin said, "is sufficiently strong to criticize itself openly, to call mistakes and weaknesses by their right names." Guided by this principle of Lenin's, our party will continue to disclose boldly, to criticize openly and to remove resolutely the mistakes and blunders in its work.

The Central Committee considers that work accomplished up to now by the party on the elimination of the personality cult and its consequences already have given positive results.

Proceeding from the decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress, the Central Committee urges all party organizations:

Consistently adhere in all our work to the most important tenets of Lenin's Marxist-Leninist teachings of the people as creators of all the material (several words illegible) transformations of society for the victory of communism.

Insistently continue Lenin's principles of party leadership pursued in past years by the

Central Committee—the highest principle of collective leadership—to maintain the norm of party life laid down by the charter of our party for development or criticism and self-criticism.

To re-establish fully the principles of Soviet Socialist democracy expressed in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, to correct to the end the violations of revolutionary Socialist law.

To mobilize our cadres and all Communists as well as broadcast to the masses of workers the struggle for the practical implementation of tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, developing for this purpose the creative initiative and energies of masses—the true creators of history.

Difficulties Said to Be Passed

The Twentieth Party Congress indicated the most important feature of our era is the conversion of socialism into a world system. The most difficult period in the development and establishment of socialism is behind us. Our Socialist country has ceased to be an isolated island in an ocean of capitalist states. At present more than a third of entire mankind is building a new life under the banner of socialism. The ideas of socialism penetrate the thoughts of many millions of people of capitalist countries. The ideas of socialism immensely influence the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are opposing all forms of colonialism.

The decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress were received by all advocates of peace, socialism and in all democratic progressive circles as an inspiring program for consolidating universal peace, for the interest of working people in the triumph of the cause of socialism.

Under contemporary conditions, wide inspiring prospects open up before the Communist parties' entire international workers' movement to achieve together within all peace-loving forces the prevention of a new world war, to restrain monopolies and insure lasting peace and security for the people, stop the armament race and relieve the toilers of the heavy burden of taxation engendered by it, defend democratic rights and freedoms which ensure for workers a better life and happy future.

It is precisely in this that millions of simple people of all countries of the world are vitally interested. The peaceful policy and every new success of the Soviet Union, [Communist] China and all other coun-

tries following the road to socialism contribute to a great extent to the successful solution of these problems.

Under new historic conditions, such international working class organizations as the Comintern and Cominform ceased their activities. It does not follow from this that international solidarity and the need of contacts between revolutionary and brotherly parties which adopted the positions of Marxism-Leninism have lost significance.

At the present time, when forces of socialism and the influence of the ideas of socialism have grown immeasurably throughout the whole world, when individual ways toward socialism are becoming apparent in various countries, Marxist parties and the working class must naturally retain and strengthen ideological unity of international brotherly solidarity in the struggle against the threat of a new war and in the struggle against the unpopular forces of monopoly and capital, which are striving to suppress all revolutionary progressive movements.

Communist parties are united by the great aim of liberating the working class from the oppression of capital. They are united into one by loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and boundless devotion to the interests of the popular masses. In their activity under contemporary conditions the Communist parties proceed from the national peculiarities in the conditions of every country, and are expressing with the greatest fullness the national interests of their peoples. At the same time, realizing that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and national independence of their countries, is a matter of the whole international proletariat, they rally together and strengthen their ties and cooperation among themselves.

The ideological unanimity and brotherly solidarity of Marxist parties of the working class of various countries is all the more necessary because capitalist monopolies are creating their own international aggressive unions and blocs similar to NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, aimed

against peace-loving nations, against the national-liberation movement, against the working class, and the vital interests of the toilers.

While the Soviet Union has done much and is continuing to do much for the reduction of international tension—and this is acknowledged now by everybody—American monopolist capital at the same time continues appropriating large sums for intensifying subversive activity in the Socialist countries. At the height of the "cold war," as it is known, the American Congress officially (in addition to funds being spent unofficially) allocated \$100,000,000 for the purposes of subversive activity in the countries of people's democracy and the Soviet Union.

Now, when the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are doing everything possible to reduce international tension, the adherents of the "cold war" are trying to activate the "cold war," which is condemned by the peoples of the whole world. This is shown by the decision of the American Senate on an additional appropriation of \$25,000,000 for subversive activity, which is cynically being called "an encouragement of freedom beyond the Iron Curtain."

We must soberly appraise this fact and draw relevant deductions from it. It is clear, for instance, that the anti-people's demonstrations in Poznan were paid from this source. However, the provocateurs and the diversionists, who were paid from the overseas funds, had only enough courage for a few hours.

The workers of Poznan rebuffed the enemies' sallies and provocations. The plans of the dark gentry of the "cloak and dagger" failed. So did their foul provocation against the people's authority in Poland. Subversive activities in the People's Democracies will also continue to fail in the future, although such actions are generously paid for from monies appropriated by American monopolists. One can say that this money is being spent for nothing.

Careless Attitude Opposed

All this demonstrates that one must not show a careless attitude toward the new machinations of the imperialist

agents, who are trying to penetrate into Socialist countries for the purpose of undermining the achievements of the workers. The forces of imperialist reaction are attempting to divert the workers from the correct path of the struggle for their interests, to poison their souls with lack of confidence in the success of the cause of socialism.

Contrary to all the machinations of the ideologists of the capitalist monopoly, the working class, led by the experienced Communist vanguard, which march on its road, which has led to the historic achievements of socialism, and will lead to new victories of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. One can be confident that the Communist and workers parties of all countries will raise their glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism even higher.

The Soviet people are justly proud that Our Motherland was the first to chart the path to socialism. Now, when socialism has become a world system, when brotherly cooperation and mutual assistance have been established between Socialist countries, new favorable conditions have developed for the flourishing of Socialist democracy, for the further consolidation of the material-production base of communism, the steadfast upsurge of the standard of living of the workers, for all round development of the personality of a new man—builder of the Communist society.

Let the bourgeois ideologists concoct fables about "crises" of communism, and about "confusion" in the ranks of the Communist party. We are used to hearing such incantations by the enemies. Their forecasts always burst like soap bubbles. Luckless forecasters like these have come and gone but the Communist movement, the immortal and life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism triumphed and are continuing to triumph. This will also be the case in the future. No foul, slanderous attacks of our enemies can stop the irresistible trend of historical development of mankind toward communism.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

30 June 1956.

Pravda, 3 July (as broadcast by radio)

Pravda has published the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences." This document, which is of great political theoretical significance, gives a vivid picture of the mighty upsurge of creative initiative and revolutionary energy which has been evoked by the historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress in the ranks of our Party and all of the Soviet people, in the ranks of the fraternal Communist and workers parties.

On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the most important phenomena of international and internal life and the activity of the Party in the present epoch, in this decision the CPSU Central Committee gives clear answers to the problems presented by life and directs the efforts of the Party and the people toward the solution of the most important problems set forth by the 20th CPSU Congress.

The Central Committee of the CPSU notes with satisfaction, the decision states, that the decisions of the historic 20th CPSU Congress have met with the full approval and ardent support of the whole of our Party, all of our people, the fraternal Communist and workers parties, the working people of the great commonwealth of Socialist countries, and millions of people in capitalist and colonial countries.

This is understandable because the 20th Congress, which marks a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, has given a thorough analysis of the present international and internal situation, has armed the Communist Party and all the Soviet people with a majestic plan for a further struggle for the building of communism, and has opened new prospects for the joint action of all parties of the working class for the elimination of the threat of another war and for the interests of the working people.

A very short period has elapsed since the 20th Congress of the Party, but even during this short period the great life-giving force of its decisions have found concrete manifestation in the new successes of the Soviet people in all sectors of Communist construction. The Soviet people have rallied still more closely around the Communist Party, their leader.

They are fully determined to carry out in the future too the wise Leninist policy of the Party, the policy of a further consolidation of the might of the Socialist Fatherland, the policy of peace and cooperation with all countries.

The decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and the successes of our Party and the Soviet people in the course of their practical realization are in the center of attention of the world public. While the program for the struggle for the stabilization of peace and the vital interests of the people--set by the 20th Congress--was greeted with satisfaction and aroused great inspiration among the working people of all countries, it has given rise to alarm and rancor in the camp of the enemies of the working class. The reactionary circles of the United States and several other capitalist countries are clearly perturbed by the increased influence of the ideas of socialism, by the active and consistent struggle of peace-loving peoples for a lessening of international tension and for the strengthening of the cause of peace.

In the decision of the CPSU Central Committee, it is pointed out that lately the bourgeois press has launched an extensive, slanderous anti-Soviet campaign which the reactionary circles are trying to base on certain facts connected with the condemnation by the CPSU of the cult of J. V. Stalin.

By organizing this campaign the enemies of socialism are making every effort to weaken the power of attraction of the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress in order to distract the attention of the working class and its Party from the important tasks set by the 20th Congress. They are resorting to all sorts of tricks and devices in order to distort the policy of the Communist Party, in order to cast a shadow on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in order to undermine the trust of the working people in the first Socialist country in the world, the USSR, and in order to sow confusion in the ranks of the international Communist and workers' movement.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie, by launching various slanderous inventions in regard to the cult of personality, are trying to conceal the fact that what is involved is a stage that already has been covered. But they will not

succeed in distorting the truth, in falsifying history! The whole world knows the persistence and determination with which the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are liquidating the consequences of the personality cult and are successfully implementing (great) tasks in the interests of the strengthening of peace and the building of Communism, in the interests of the broad masses of the people.

The CPSU Central Committee stresses in its decision that, in its criticism of the personality cult, the Party proceeds from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, from the premise of Marxist-Leninist theory in regard to the role of the masses, parties, and individuals in history.

As is well known, at the 20th CPSU Congress, the question of the cult of the personality and its consequences were examined in detail. The bold and principled criticism of the cult of personality, developed on the initiative of the Central Committee, was supported by the whole of our Party and the entire Soviet people. It was clear testimony of the strength and the might of our Party and of the Soviet socialist society. Only a Party nurtured on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, which expresses the basic interests of the people and which enjoys their boundless support, could act so boldly and with such fortitude.

The Party has considered that, although its statement against the cult of the person of Stalin would evoke certain temporary difficulties, in the long run--considering the basic interests and the final objectives of the working class--it would produce great and positive results.

This also serves as a firm guarantee that any such manifestations as the cult of personality can never reappear in our Party and country and that henceforth the leadership of the country by the Party will be carried out collectively, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist policy, with the active and creative participation of millions of workers.

Millions of people, both in our country and abroad, studying the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, will find in them exhaustive explanations of the causes which led to the emergence and the spread of the cult of the personality, and they will approve all the decisions which have been and are being carried out by the Communist Party

and its Central Committee to overcome the cult of personality and its consequences. The CPSU Central Committee has profoundly analyzed both the objective conditions which led to the spread of the personality cult and the subjective factors connected with the personal features of Stalin, the negative nature of which has been pointed out by Lenin.

The Soviet people are reading the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress. This 20th Party Congress and the entire policy of the Central Committee since Stalin's death clearly show that, within the Central Committee of the Party, there existed a nucleus of Leninist leaders who correctly understood the immediate requirements of both internal and foreign policies. Immediately after Stalin's death, the Leninist nucleus of the Central Committee began a determined struggle against the personality cult and its wretched consequences. The positive results of this struggle are having a beneficial influence on the entire multilateral activity of our people.

The enemies of socialism affirm that the cult of the person of Stalin has resulted not from definite historic conditions which are already part of the past but from the Soviet system. Such slanderous assertions are denied by the entire history of the development of the Soviet State.

A long, difficult, and glorious road has been covered by our Motherland under the leadership of the Communist Party. It was the first country in the world to pave the way to socialism for mankind. It had to overcome age-old economic, cultural, and technical backwardness; it had to build socialism under conditions of severe struggle against the class enemies and their agents within the country as well as against the intrigues of international imperialist reaction.

For more than a quarter of a century, the land of the Soviets, like a besieged fortress, found itself in conditions of capitalist encirclement and under a constant threat of imperialist aggression. The complex international and internal situation required iron discipline and the strictest centralization of leadership. Under such conditions it was necessary to impose certain limitations on democracy which were justified by the logic of the struggle of our people in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

Historic experience shows that all the difficulties and obstacles on the road to the building of socialism were overcome. As a result of the heroic efforts of the Soviet people and the Communist Party, our country took a gigantic leap forward in its economic and cultural development and became a mighty Socialist state. The world wide historic successes of socialism in the Soviet Union have marked the triumph of the Leninist general line of the Party.

The strength and vitality of the Soviet socialist order and its superiority over the bourgeois order have been proved by the unprecedented tempo of the economic and cultural development of our country. The Soviet order has set into motion the inexhaustible forces of the masses of the people. It has involved millions of people in the struggle for socialism. Soviet society has the strength of the consciousness of the masses. Its fate is determined by the constructive labor of the heroic working class, the collective farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia. It is this which demonstrates that the Soviet order has emerged with honor from the most difficult trials both in peace and war.

Today the Central Committee and our entire Party are concentrating their main effort on carrying out the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress, which contain a detailed program for the further strengthening of the Soviet order, for the development of its economy and culture, for the constant improvement of the well-being of the workers and the all-around development of socialist democracy. Toward this end are directed the measures being carried out by the Party and the Government for the broadening of the rights and the competence of the Union Republics, for the strictest observance of the law, for the reorganization of the planning system, for the development of local initiative for the activation of activities of the local Soviets and for the development of criticisms and self-criticism.

Basing itself on the decisions of the 20th Party Congress, the CPSU Central Committee appeals to the Party organizations: consistently to observe in all their work the most important postulate in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism on the people as the makers of history and the creators of all the material and spiritual riches of mankind; on the decisive role of the Marxist party in the revolutionary

struggle for the reorganization of society and for the victory of communism; persistently to continue the work carried on in the past years by the Central Committee of the Party by the strict observance in all Party organizations, from top to bottom, of the Leninist principle of Party leadership and, above all, of the highest principle, that of collective leadership; the observance of the norms of Party life as determined by the charter of our Party, and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

To reestablish fully the principles of Soviet socialist democracy as expressed in the constitution of the Soviet Union and to correct fully all infringements of revolutionary socialist legality; to mobilize our cadres, all the Communists, and the broadest masses of the workers in the struggle for the practical realization of the tasks of the Sixth Five Year Plan, developing by every means the creative initiative and the energy of the masses who are the true makers of history.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee on the abolition of the cult of personality and its consequences are of the greatest international importance. This document shows the extent of the reactions and the approval of all the fraternal Communist and workers parties in regard to the historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress. It also points out that the fraternal parties are learning in good time of the maneuvers of the enemies of socialism, who are attempting to introduce confusion into the ranks of the international Communist and workers movement, and that they are showing a worthy resistance.

At present, when the forces of socialism have immeasurably increased, when socialism has become a world system, and when the variety of roads to socialism in the various countries are becoming apparent, the Marxist parties of the working class must naturally preserve and strengthen their international fraternal solidarity in the struggle against the threat of a new war, against the antipopular forces of monopoly capital which are striving to suppress all revolutionary and progressive movement.

In particular, such a fact as the U.S. Senate's allocation of large sums for subversive activities in the countries of socialism and the infamous provocation of the

imperialist agents in Poznan, directed against the people's rule, show that it is impossible to permit carelessness in the face of the new intrigues of the imperialist agents who are striving to penetrate into the socialist countries in order to cause damage to the workers and undermine their achievements.

Our Motherland, which was the first to pave the way to socialism, today is in the full flower of its creative forces. The Soviet people, armed with the historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and consolidated around the Communist Party, are advancing firmly and confidently. In the closest unity with the Soviet Union, under the banner of socialism, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the great People's China and all the countries of People's Democracy are building a new life. The ideas of peace, democracy, and socialism have the support of many millions of workers in the capitalist, colonial, and dependent countries.

No angry or slanderous attacks by our enemies will succeed in halting the inviolable progress of the historic development of mankind toward communism.

Pravda, 6 July, (as broadcast by radio), excerpt

The enemies of socialism have frequently made the allegation against our Party that, as a result of the establishment of the political domination of the working class in our country, the basis of democracy was undermined. In reality, however, the political domination of the working class is the only means for the defense of all the workers from the yoke of capitalism, from the coercion of the bourgeoisie, from imperialist wars, from class and national enslavement and for the insurance of a real people's rule.

The historic experience of the Soviet Union confirms this convincingly. The Soviet regime has set into motion innumerable forces inherent in the popular masses. It introduced millions of people to a conscious administration of the state, to the building of socialism. At a certain phase the complicated international and internal situation in which our people had to live demanded iron discipline, a constant acceleration of vigilance, the strictest centralization of leadership.

As noted in the decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the overcoming of the cult of the individual and its consequences, this could not but have had a negative effect on the development of certain democratic forms. In the course of the obdurate struggle against the whole world of imperialism, our country had to introduce certain restrictions of democracy justified by the logic of the struggle of our people for socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement. But even then these restrictions were considered temporary by the Party and people, due to be eliminated with the strengthening of the Soviet State and the development of socialism throughout the world.

In spite of a certain restriction of some democratic forms caused by the complicated situation, the Soviet regime from the first days of its existence consisted of a higher degree of democracy than any bourgeois democratic country. This is understandable because in contrast to the (bourgeois) democratic countries, under the Soviet regime authority is practiced in the interests of the majority of the population.

Steadily realizing Lenin's national policy, the Communist Party became the inspirer and organizer of the friendship of the Soviet peoples. It is in the USSR that for the first time, not

formally but in actual fact, the equality of the nationalities has been insured. To all members of the society without exception the right to work, to education and leisure, to participate in state affairs, the freedom of speech, of press, of conscience, as well as real opportunities for the development of individual abilities, and all other democratic rights and liberties, have been insured.

In the recent years the Party has adopted new measures for the development of the democratic foundations of our society's life. These measures include the extension of the rights and competence of the Union Republics, the strengthening of the socialist legislation, the reconstruction of the planning system for the purpose of releasing local initiative, the development of criticism and self-criticism. The task is now to develop Soviet socialist democratism as before and with all persistency, and to induce an ever increasing number of workers to active participation in state administration.

Our socialist state owes all its successes to the leadership of the Communist Party. Sometimes it is asked: Why does only one party exist in the USSR? A multitude of parties is inherent in a society with different classes and different interests: this is primarily innerent in a bourgeois society, where there are antagonistic classes. Before the Revolution there were many parties in Russia. There was a party of capitalists, a party of landowners, a party with the loud-sounding name of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and others. And there existed a party of the working class, the Communist Party founded by the great Lenin. This party succeeded in raising the workers to the struggle against the capitalists and landlords, against the Tsarist regime. Under its leadership the Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out.

The Communist Party has shown in fact, in the experience of life, that it is this and no other party which represents the working class and defends its interests. The petty bourgeois parties, the Social-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Anarchists and their like, went bankrupt and exposed themselves in the eyes of the masses as helpers of the bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that the Russian workers, who came out victorious in the October Revolution under the leadership of the Communist

Party, entrusted to it the helm of the country's administration. From year to year the confidence of the people in the Communist Party and their love for the Communist Party continued to grow in strength; with the Party leading it farther and farther still, along the road of building socialism.

At present time, as a result of the victory of socialism, a new homogeneous society has been created in the Soviet Union which is devoid of any hostile classes, of any social groups whose interests fail to coincide. Therefore there is no social ground in the Soviet society for the origination and existence of other than the Communist Party.

Some people abroad are interested in having in the USSR artificially created non-communist parties, financed by foreign capital and serving its interests. But the Soviet people have no need of such parties. The Soviet people enforce their social forms on no one; neither do they intend to adopt any alien social forms. This does not mean, of course, that in other countries proceeding along the road of socialism other workers parties should not, under certain historical conditions, be given the opportunity of taking part in the administration--on the condition that the leading role is assured for the revolutionary Marxist Party which expresses the interests of the working class in the most consistent manner.

As for our country, the Communist Party was, is, and will be the one and only ruler of thoughts, the one to express the ideas and hopes of the people--their leader and organizer throughout their entire struggle for communism. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, strong in its unity, solidarity, and discipline, unsurpassed in its skill to organize the millions of the masses and to guide them correctly in a difficult situation, the Communist Party has been, from the first days of the Soviet State, confidently steering the ship of our state and social life toward communism.

Addressing the Ninth Party Congress in March 1920, V. I. Lenin said: "It was only because the Party was on guard, because it was strictly disciplined, because the Party authority united all departments and institutions, because scores, hundreds, thousands, and then millions of people responded to the signal given by the Central Committee, and because unprecedented sacrifices were made, that the miracle which has

happened could have happened. Only because of this were we able to win against the twofold, threefold, and fourfold attacks of the entente imperialists, and of the imperialists of all the world."

Whenever the country was in danger, whenever sacrifices were required and privations suffered, whenever new difficult tasks faced the country the Communists were the first to rush ahead, meeting the difficulties, carrying with them the broad masses, and inevitably scoring a victory. To be where the fate of the revolution is decided, the fate of socialism, the fate of communist construction, has become a law to the Communist. Thus it was during the years of the Civil War and foreign intervention when many a son of our Party lost his life in the struggle against the enemy but would not give up the gains of the Revolution.

Thus it was during the period of restoration when under the difficult conditions of the New Economic Policy Communists were in the advanced ranks of the obdurate struggle against the class enemy.

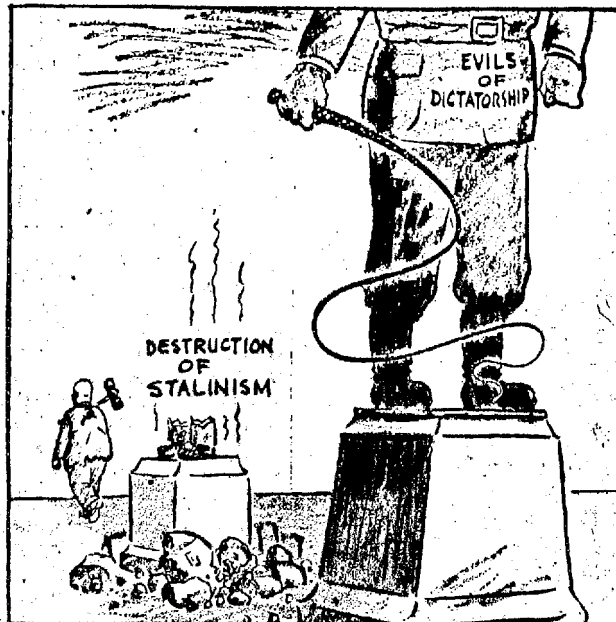
Thus it was during the years of the country's socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture when Communists went in large groups to the construction sites and in the face of the furious hatred and fierce resistance of the class enemy insured the fulfillment of the Party's assignments. Thus it was during the years of the Great Fatherland War when the Party directed its best forces to the military fronts and to the decisive sectors of the rear.

The leading role of our Party emerged with even greater force during recent years, when on the initiative of the Central Committee of the CPSU the vast measures aiming at a new development of the economy, at the liquidation of the backwardness of a number of branches of our national economy, and primarily agriculture, and at the acceleration of the pace of cultural construction began to be put into practice.

In accordance with the instructions of the local Party organs, primary organizations of the Party have squarely turned to face the concrete tasks of economic construction, begun making a more profound study of the economy and technology of

production, to delve actively into the state of affairs at enterprises, collective farms, MTS, and state farms. Tens of thousands of Communists have voluntarily left for work in MTS, state farms, and collective farms and have by their untiring organizational work played a singularly important role in raising agriculture which was begun in the recent period as is continuing to grow steadily.

Never will the patriotic efforts of our youth who on the call of the Party have gone to the eastern areas by the hundreds of thousands to reclaim the new lands and the projects of the Sixth Five Year Plan be erased from the memories of the Soviet people. The raising of the level of the leading work of the Party and all its local organizations is the true road to new successes in the struggle for the further strengthening of the Soviet Socialist State, for the upsurge of industry and agriculture, for the growth of the well-being and culture of the workers. Our Party is boldly leading us along this road, for it unites in its ranks the most progressive, the most conscious and organized section of the Soviet people; for it is inseparably bound with the broadest masses of the workers.



Carmack in The Christian Science Monitor
"Real job still undone."



Canfield in The Newark News
"With one party how can he lose?"

EASTERN EUROPE

POLAND

Trybuna Ludu, 11 July

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the overcoming of the cult of the individual and its consequences has found a wide response not only in the Socialist camp but in the entire international working class movement and in all our fraternal parties. For it concerns basic problems--the essence of the Socialist system and its victorious struggle against distortions connected with the cult of Stalin.

This momentous document signifies a further progress of self-criticism and improvement, brought about in the life of the Soviet Union and in the activity of the entire international working class movement by the 20th CPSU Congress. It is one more Soviet contribution to the fraternal discussion now going on in all Communist and workers parties. That is why it was greeted by them with appreciation.

"This document seems to me an exceptionally important contribution to the elucidation of problems which have been put forward by the international working class and Communist movement in connection with the criticism of Stalin's activity. Formulated at the 20th CPSU Congress," Comrade Togliatti said.

The enemies of Socialism have unleashed a fierce propaganda campaign round this discussion. The main aim of this campaign is to whitewash the incurably diseased capitalist system through an attempt to "prove" that the distortions of the Stalin period, in whose removal the CPSU has been effectively engaged for 3 years, allegedly stemmed from the Soviet system itself. But if it were so, how can one explain the fact that the CPSU leaders have themselves with Communist courage made public these distortions and declared an inexorable struggle against them?

The instigators of this slander campaign from the other side of the Atlantic carefully avoid giving an answer to this question. For the answer given to this question by the CPSU in deeds and in works clearly shows that the distortions of the

Stalin period not only did not stem from the Socialist system, but were an overgrowth which was harmful and alien to the essence of this system.

"The courageous and merciless self-criticism in the problem of the cult of personality," as Pravda rightly points out, "is a new, telling expression of the vigor and power of our Party, of the vigor and power of the Soviet Socialist system."

The CPSU Central Committee was aware of the fact that the open admission of the errors committed would result in certain negative consequences, providing easy prey for the enemies of Communism. But these difficulties will be of a passing character and will be absolutely incomparable with the enormous, positive results which correspond to the most vital interests of the working class.

For does not the courageous and uncompromising unmasking of all negative manifestations connected with the cult of Stalin create the best guarantee against any possible repetition of these severe distortions in the future? For does it not create a solid foundation for the development of inner party democracy, collective leadership, and all-round development of Soviet democracy, based on an active and creative participation of the masses in governing their own country?

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee contains a more extensive answer than the documents of the 20th CPSU Congress to the question how in conditions of the Soviet Socialist system the cult of Stalin, with all its severe consequences, could have originated and spread. The Soviet comrades are thus not only analysing the subjective factors connected with the personal traits of Stalin, but above all the historical conditions in which the USSR was building Socialism.

The exceptionally difficult and complex international and internal situation of the USSR--a fortress encircled by the enemy--required an iron discipline and centralization of leadership, which exerted a negative influence on the development of Socialist democracy. But already at that time, emphasizes the resolution, the Party and the nation regarded these restrictions as temporary ones.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee emphatically stresses the harm done to Socialist construction and to the development of democracy within the Party and in the Soviet State by Stalin's erroneous thesis on the sharpening of the class struggle with the progress of the Socialist construction in the USSR. This document states that this thesis was correct only with regard to the given stages of the transition period. While in practice, in conditions created by the victory of Socialism, it served to justify mass repressions and the most brutal infringements of Socialist legality.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee sheds light on the situation which made it difficult for the Leninist core of the Central Committee to come out against Stalin and to wage a struggle against the unlawful acts which were being committed at that time. In conditions in which in spite of Stalin's errors the nation was in hard toil pushing forward Socialist construction, steps against Stalin would not have met with the support of the nation.

In conditions in which the successes of Socialist construction were most closely linked in the consciousness of the nation with the name of Stalin any step against Stalin would have been understood as a step against the cause of Socialism itself, as an extremely dangerous, in conditions of capitalist encirclement, undermining of the unity of the Party and of the whole state. Immediately after the death of Stalin the Leninist core of the Central Committee started a determined struggle against the cult of the individual and its severe consequences.

"It is evident," the closing part of the respective part of the resolution reads, "that all this explains, but by no means justifies, the cult of J. V. Stalin and its consequences which have been so sharply and justly condemned by our Party."

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee categorically refutes the thesis that as a result of the cult of personality and the distortions connected with it, the Socialist character of the Soviet social system, whose foundations are social ownership of the means of production, the worker-peasant alliance, and friendship among nations, has changed.

The cult of the individual, the breaches of legality, have done great harm to the development of Socialist democracy and hampered the creative initiative of the masses. The cult of Stalin, who found himself above any criticism, led to serious errors and neglect in the management of agriculture. In preparing the country to face Nazi invasion, it led to brutal arbitrariness which resulted in a conflict with Yugoslavia.

All these errors, although they have done great harm to the State and hampered the development of the vital forces of the Soviet community, were unable, however, to divert this community from the basic road of development towards Communism.

We know from communiques and press articles, from reports by people returning from the Soviet Union, that in recent years great transformations toward the democratization of life, the consolidation of Socialist legality, the improvement of the living standards of the working people, transformations being implemented by the Party and the government consistently, step by step, in accordance with the principle of the unity between words and deeds, between theory and practice, have been taking place in the USSR.

This finds its expression in the development of Soviet democracy, in the steps being undertaken by the Party and the government with a view to extending the rights and powers of the Union Republics, to insuring strict observance of legality, to stimulating local initiative, to enlivening the activeness of local Soviets, as well as to stimulating criticism and self-criticism.

Would it have been possible to reclaim through administrative means 33 million hectares of virgin land during about two years? It was possible to implement this enormous task, as Pravda rightly emphasizes, only owing to the consciousness, full initiative, and heroic labor of the people's masses.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee cites statements of the fraternal Communist and workers parties and of their individual leaders concerning the 20th Congress. Worthy of note are the polemical accents in the appraisal of the interview with Comrade Togliatti.

As far as this polemic is concerned, worth stressing is the fact that on both sides it is characterized by the most friendly exchange of views between comrade Communists, an exchange which not only does not weaken but strengthens proletarian internationalism and the profound organic unity of the international working class movement.

The concluding part of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee contains an appeal to all Party organizations steadily to implement the political, organizational, and economic directives of the 20th Congress. The resolution points out that in conditions of the transformation of Socialism into a world system, new inspiring prospects of victories in the struggle for peace and Socialism are being opened up before the international working class movement.

The diversity of roads leading to Socialism in various countries is taking shape, but, at the same time, the international brotherhood and solidarity of our movement are becoming of especial importance. "In their activity in the present conditions," says the resolution, "all Communist Parties take as their starting point the individual national traits and conditions of each country, and express as fully as possible the national interests of their peoples."

Bearing in mind that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and national independence of their countries is at the same time the cause of the entire international proletariat, they are merging their efforts and strengthening their mutual bonds and cooperation.

This solidarity in the struggle for common aims we use to oppose the maneuvers of the advocates of the cold war, who are relentlessly engaged in attempts at sowing division in Socialist countries.

The new document of the CPSU Central Committee will undoubtedly be of great importance for discussion and practical activity which draw their strength from the Leninist ideas of the 20th Congress. The article reprinted by us from Pravda's July 8 issue, entitled "The Soviet, Truly People's System is Lasting and Unbreakable," is an essential commentary to this resolution.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee should be carefully studied by every Party member. Our Party and working class, together with the whole international working class movement, will do their best to draw all the conclusions from this document which correspond to our tasks in the struggle for the development of people's democracy and the victory of Socialism.

HUNGARY

Szabad Nep, 3 July (as broadcast by radio)

Attempts at disrupting the unity of the Party have gained ground recently. After the events of the past few days the majority of Party members expected the Central Committee to define its attitude. After the 20th CPSU Congress profound changes were set in motion in Hungary. Collective leadership is asserting itself more and more in the Party, and communist criticism and self-criticism are coming into full play in Party organizations, factories, villages and offices. Workers criticize the faults of Party work, and the shortcomings of the state and economic administration ever-more boldly, and submit clever and competent proposals to remedy them.

Our Party and Government have rehabilitated our comrades who were condemned unjustly, granted large-scale amnesty to others who were sentenced for political crimes, and have taken firm measures to enforce socialist legality. Acting on the proposal of the Central Committee, the Government has already taken various steps to eliminate bureaucracy from administration; the field of competence of managers and local councils has been widened and their economic independence increased.

Those fruitful debates which dealt with various political, ideological, and economic questions in the light of the 20th CPSU Congress were also levers of our growing and steadily developing democracy. The debates were particularly fruitful about the directives of our Second Five Year Plan. Hundreds of thousands of workers, working peasants and intellectuals took part in these debates, most of which were very useful and instructive in that they widened the political horizon of the workers. Many valuable proposals were made which are well worth taking into consideration. All this proves that Party democracy and the democratic character of our entire national life are developing ever-more vigorously under the guidance of our Party's Central Committee. The Central Committee wants to speed up this trend of development in the future.

However, the resolution passed by the Central Committee several days ago pointed out that the healthy development which began after the 20th CPSU Congress is threatened by the fact that opportunist, demagogic views and even ideas hostile to the Party and the People's Democracy have gained ground in many places, first of all in the debates of the Petofi Club of the UTM (Union of Working Youth), in some weeklies and periodicals, for instance in certain numbers of the Irodalmi Ujsag (Literary Journal) and the Beke Es Szabadsag (Peace and Freedom), and also in certain meetings arranged by some Party and mass organizations.

Journalism was hardly mentioned at the latest debate of the Petofi Club, although it was convened to discuss problems relating to the press and information. Instead, many opportunist, harmful, and even hostile views were expressed on that occasion. Some called for a new revolution, for a new idea of March and for structural changes.

What kind of new revolution could take place in Hungary where there has already been a revolution, a socialist revolution, led by the most progressive social class, the working class which is in close alliance with the working peasantry and every worker? We are, therefore, justified in pointing out that such a new revolution could be directed only against socialism. We can also justly point out that in the language of socialism new revolutions of this kind are called counter-revolution. Our working class and working people are well aware of this.

Tibor Deri has used that debate for launching an open and brutal attack on Party loyalty. He attacked the leaders of the Party and the Party's activists. He said that liberation would start only now. But our liberation took place in 1945. Such statements, therefore, disparage and reject all that has been created and achieved by our people in the course of almost 12 years of freedom.

Tibor Deri appealed to his audience to disseminate his anti-Party views all over the country. He launched an open appeal for anti-Party (organizational work?) which has nothing to do with debates on ideological questions or with democracy.

Deri's speech was received with profound indignation by, and aroused stormy protests from, the Communists who attended the debate.

Certain speeches delivered during the latest debates, the cheers and expressions of approval with which they were received, and the debates on literature have clearly expressed the disparagement of the leading role of the working class and the Party. Those who allege that the working class is not active, does not deal with policy and does not understand the significance of the 20th CPSU Congress, decry the working class. Those who express such ideas by word of mouth or in writing do not know the truth.

The Hungarian working class led the struggle for a revolutionary change during the Horthy fascism under the leadership of the Party. It is the leading force of our socialist constructive efforts today. Its political conduct is infinitely better than the policy of those who attack the Party and our people's democratic system. The working class fights, and will continue to fight, boldly against everything that might endanger our achievements or the application of the lessons of the 20th Congress in our country.

It cannot be accidental that these opportunist, harmful and anti-Party views were voiced by those who still maintain a close and systematic contact with Imre Nagy, who has been expelled from the Party because of his anti-Marxists views, hostile to the Party and the People's Democracy, and his factionalism.

Unfortunately, these brutal and anti-Party views were not always met by the rebuff they deserved. This happened because these debates, and especially the recent debates arranged by the Petofi club, were attended not only by honest people who loved the Party dearly and who wanted to help and to further socialist construction--although a number of them have been misled by demagogy--but because the debates increasingly became rallying points for individuals opposed to the Party and the ideas of socialism, including persons who have been expelled from the Party and bourgeois elements.

These people turned the debates into scenes of attacks against the People's Democracy. They out-shouted and disturbed those speeches which presented the correct Party attitude, but they enthusiastically applauded every attack on the Party and the People's Democracy. They were not disturbed by the presence at these debates of representatives of the imperialist press who eagerly seized the opportunity to write of the slanders told about our political system.

All these events outraged honest and loyal Communists and non-Party citizens, workers and intellectuals alike. They justly expected the Central Committee to reply and to inform public opinion.

We are convinced that the overwhelming majority of the Party membership, workers, working peasants, and intellectuals have received with satisfaction the Party Central Committee's resolution, published last Sunday, which rejects and condemns the attack which is developing against the Party, the working class and the working masses to be on guard.

We must be on our guard. We have been reminded of this duty not only by the debates, hostile to the Party, which took place in the Petofi Club, but also by the imperialist provocation at Poznan. The Central Committee's resolution is an appeal to every supporter of the People's Democracy: Do not allow the demagogues to mislead you, because only with the Party and guided by the Party can you successfully struggle for the assertion of the ideas of the 20th Congress and for the development of socialist democracy.

The Central Committee of our Party is exerting supreme efforts to assert the spirit of the 20th Congress in the Party and in the whole country more quickly. It fights unequivocally against (word unintelligible--Ed.) and its remnants, against sectarianism, against hardened and ossified views and dogmatism. It intends to struggle with an even greater determination for the all-round development of socialist democracy.

In order to achieve it, it is necessary that Communists should fight, above all with political weapons, by conviction, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the policy of the Party, that they should watch over the unity of the Party,

that they should prevent the driving of a wedge between the Party and its leaders, and that they should rally behind the Central Committee in serried ranks.

It is the duty of the press to lend adequate support to this endeavor and to arm Communists and every supporter of our regime with ideological weapons so that they can struggle for the purity of ideological and political life. Lately, the press has failed to take a sufficiently strong stand against incorrect views. It did not condemn the anti-Party (character?) of certain debates. It was not by accident that many of our comrades have sharply criticized a Szabad Nep article, published under the title "The Sunshine of Intellectuality" which gave a false appraisal of the debates in the Petofi Club.

Our Party does not reject everything which was said at these debates or was printed in the press. It does not condemn those who took part in the debates. This is made evident by the Central Committee resolution. We must state as an established fact that these debates were actively attended by a very large number of Party and non-Party members, honest people, loyal to the Party who love our regime. Many correct speeches were delivered during the debates, and many correct articles and workers' letters appeared in the press.

Many of these criticized, and justly, the mistakes committed in the past and at the present. The Party and its Central Committee (paid?) due attention to the correct critical remarks made about their policy and work by Party and non-Party members who are loyal to the Party and our democratic system, who want to help the Party to correct mistakes, and in the elaboration of new and important ideological and political problems.

Of course, many important and correct measures have been taken already, and it is an unhealthy sign that these were not mentioned during the debates. Indeed, many such mistakes were criticized at the debates whose correction has been in progress for a long time. Correct critical remarks, however, must be dealt with.

The Central Committee and the Government will elaborate appropriate measures with a view to continuing the democratization

of our public life and to developing our ideological and economic work. Erroneous views were also uttered in the course of the various debates, views which were simply due to lack of experience or lack of information. In such cases the mistake can be corrected by explaining the correct, Marxist and Party-like attitude. One of the most important tasks of these debates is to clarify incorrect views and to develop correct views.

The resolution of the Central Committee is not directed against these incorrect views; what it rejects are the opportunist views hostile to the Party. We must wage an energetic ideological and political struggle against opportunism, all the more so since it can easily become a weapon in the hands of the class enemy.

The Central Committee and the Party want democracy, a socialist democracy where there is no room for the enemies of the people, but where views are clarified in Party-like debates. What we need are debates which help us to solve our problems, strengthen the unity of the Party, consolidate the ties between the Party and masses, solve important ideological questions and promote the work of the Party and our productive efforts.

The Central Committee of our Party is resolved to proceed steadily on the road defined by the 20th Congress. It raises high the banner of socialism. All those who have placed their faith and confidence in the ideas of the 20th Congress, and who want to struggle and to work with the people and for the people must rally under this banner.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Rude Pravo, 4 July, excerpt (as broadcast by radio)

Yesterday our press published the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the cult of personality and its consequences. This is an important document not only for the CPSU and the Soviet people but for the entire international workers movement. It contains a lesson for our Party, too, which always considered its older and more experienced co-fighter, the CPSU, as its teacher. From it we shall continue to learn how to apply Lenin's theories and norms of Party life by utilizing its experiences in a creative and not mechanical way.

Only a short time has elapsed since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Yet even in this brief period it has become clear to the world that the decisions accepted by the Soviet Communists have great and vital force, that they strengthen the position of socialism, democracy and peace, and bring forth an unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative from the workers. It is also evident that this great program for the strengthening of peace, socialism, and working class unity, outlined by the CPSU Congress has greatly upset the reactionary political circles, above all those in the United States.

Recently a new wide-spread slanderous campaign against the USSR and the People's Democracies and against the great ideas of socialism and communism has been launched. The more consistently Communist parties implement their program, the greater becomes the anger and fury of the enemies of socialism. As a pretext for their unbridled attacks they use certain facts connected with the criticism of the cult of personality around J. V. Stalin and the serious mistakes which occurred during the last years of his life.

From the U. S. imperialist circles with their corrupt press down to politicians of the type of Fanfani, the Italian Christian Democrat, they all speak about the "bankruptcy of communism," of "confusion" inside the Communist parties, of "disintegration" of the socialist regimes. The ultimate aim of this performance of gravediggers of socialism is to undermine the confidence in the leading socialist power,

to create confusion in the ranks of the international workers movement and to cover up their own fear. Yet they cannot deceive anyone.

It is well known that in the course of the debates on the results of the CPSU Congress, inherently honest people in our country asked: "Will not the bold and open criticism and self-criticism weaken the position of socialism?" Such views, even if proffered with honesty, failed to appreciate basic principles. To speak openly and boldly of the grave consequences of the cult of personality was necessary, if all the Communist parties were to overcome jointly and quickly all its bad influences.

Obviously in the beginning this bitter truth caused painful sadness and even some difficulties inside certain Communist parties. Yet all these negative sides are minute compared with the tremendous positive results which have already become apparent and will appear even stronger in the future from the point of view of the basic interests and aims of the working class.

Quills, dipped in the ink of anti-Soviet and anti-socialist hatred, try to draw as distorted pictures as possible. Filling reams of paper, they endeavor to prove that the causes of the cult of personality were not objective, historic conditions and subjective factors, but the Soviet regime itself and its undemocratic character. Yet just as it is impossible to hide the sun behind a dirty hand, no slander can prove that the Soviet regime is undemocratic.

The lie of the alleged Soviet lack of democracy, kept alive with every possible effort, will not gain laurels for anti-Communist fighters. The past decades have shown that true human freedom and democracy was not safeguarded by monopolist capitalism, but by socialism. Can any country west of the Elbe or east of Peiping insure for its citizens a permanently growing living standard, the right to work, education and leisure?

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, just as the other fraternal parties, has approved and supported the measures taken by the CPSU against the cult of personality and its consequences. It has drawn practical conclusions for its future work from the decisions of the CPSU Congress. The

general inner Party discussions and the recent Party conference have shown that the results of these conclusions are beginning to take shape. It is necessary to continue on this road, to be consistent and to enforce Leninist principles in all spheres of our life. Socialism has become a world system, opening up for all Communist Parties and for the entire working class movement wide vistas. All the Communist parties, while guided in their work by individual national characteristics and their special situation and expressing the interests of their own nations, realize at the same time that it is necessary to constantly strengthen the ties of international solidarity in the fight against the common enemy. This unity and loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism is the more necessary in the face of the various aggressive blocs of capitalist countries and the subversive activities directed against the countries of the socialist camp.

The antipopular events in Poznan, which were planned carefully and long in advance, have taught us to rid ourselves of carelessness and smugness. Capitalist monopolies and certain political circles, so long as they continue to exist, will not treat us with excessive liberalism.

Yet the plans of the black knights with cloak and dagger will fail in the same way as the fairy tales of the bourgeois ideologist who forecast the crisis and breakdown of Communism. Their proclamations are neither new nor original. Metternich and the Russian Tsar in their time made similar forecasts. Where are they today? They disappeared below the trapdoors of history while the ideals of communism continue to be victorious. The followers of these prophets, who still foretell the end of communism with astrological formulas, will soon see that despite their vociferous slander of socialism, they are bound to be engulfed eventually by the logical development of history. The powerful engine of history rolls forward on its rails. No obstacle can hold up this advance towards communism.

EAST GERMANY

Neues Deutschland, 8 July

It was impossible to discuss at length at the Third SED Conference all problems resulting from the new situation and from the criticism of the personality cult. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED welcomes the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU of June 30, 1956, on the overcoming of the personality cult and its consequences. It recommends, therefore, that all Party members and Party organizations thoroughly study this important decision, explain it to the workers, and draw from it conclusions for improving the political, economic, and ideological work of the Party.

The propaganda of our opponents alleges that Stalin's mistakes were rooted in the Soviet system, in its social, constitutional, and political order and in Marxism-Leninism in general. Unfortunately some representatives of progressive ideas were influenced by this argument.

It must be said with all emphasis: The aggressive German imperialists and militarists also helped to make it possible for Stalin's mistakes to develop. It was they who, tolerated and actively supported by their allies in the United States, Great Britain, and France, brought German fascism to power in order to use it as an assault force against the Soviet Union. In this way they have been creating since 1933 an atmosphere of permanent threat to and undermining of the Soviet Union. It must not be forgotten that the grave and inexcusable mistakes of Stalin with regard to the violation of legality were committed under these conditions of an aggressive policy conducted by German fascism against the Soviet Union. These mistakes are not inherent in the Soviet system, however.

The main point for the further democratization of life in the GDR is and will be that the masses of the people, by their cooperation and active work, determine this process and contribute toward overcoming all bureaucratic obstacles, toward insuring democratic legality, and toward giving the elected representative bodies of the people full scope. The fact that mistakes and exaggerations occurred in the observation of democratic legality was due to the situation of the cold war, to the necessity to combat the constant criminal activities of Western agencies, and to the circumstance that socialist legislation had to develop.

The implementation of a correct policy, advocated by all workers, demands increased vigilance on the part of all progressive forces of society. The events of Poznan, where agents provocateurs of a reactionary clandestine movement, with the help of foreign agents based in West Berlin and West Germany, caused disturbances and bloodshed, show that the enemies of peace stop at nothing in their efforts thwart the process of international relaxation of tension and further democratization of life in the countries of the socialist camp and the possibilities of a peaceful road to socialism as indicated by the 20th CPSU Congress.

The Third SED Conference raised a multitude of problems which must be solved with the help of Marxist-Leninist theory and method. "We must state that the socialist education of the workers and the Marxist-Leninist instruction of Party members has lagged. This is due to the weakness of the theoretical work done so far, as well as to the dogmatic traits still preponderant in Party propaganda. It is therefore necessary for the comrade scientists and propagandists to discuss openly how to overcome dogmatism and how to develop an atmosphere of lively, creative theoretical work."

In the GDR, too, the consequences of the personality cult must be completely overcome. "On the basis of its own experience, the Central Committee of the SED began as early as in 1953 to institute measures against the personality cult; it stated, for instance, that it is not permissible to continue to name institutes, enterprises, streets, and so forth after living persons. But these measures do not mean that all forms and consequences of the personality cult have already been overcome. For instance, in the history of the Party and in the history of the German workers movement it is still customary to underestimate the part played by the lower party and trade union organizations, to give hardly any appreciation of it.

The Party organizations must therefore discuss ways in which the Party can successfully continue the struggle to overcome the personality cult and its consequences.

Another issue is the better promotion of the Party's intellectual and spiritual life. Frank and comradely discussion is of the greatest importance for the education of Party members. It cannot be said that this spirit already prevails today in all Party organizations. The Party must also seriously consider how the development of cadres and the care for all members and candidates can be improved. At present there still exists much indifference toward human beings, as well as injustices. This must be changed quickly.

It must be said openly that the Party at present does not give sufficient explanation to the workers about the causes of and reasons for certain difficulties and contradictions in the building of socialism. Our agitation and propaganda sometimes creates the impression that no difficulties whatsoever exist in the GDR, that everything is going smoothly. This, however, cannot be the case in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The frequently practiced method of presenting in unrelieved black and white the comparison between conditions in the GDR and West Germany is also harmful. We tell the workers quite frankly that in many spheres of science and technology it is necessary to catch up with West Germany, that it is necessary constantly to improve the material and cultural conditions of the workers in the GDR by stepping up labor productivity. But the people's democratic order and the socialist economy in the GDR give the workers work, security, freedom, and a constant improvement of their living conditions, whereas the capitalist order in West Germany is not based on a stable foundation and is heading toward grave economic and social traumata.

We still have great economic difficulties to overcome. The democratization of life must be continued. A creative atmosphere is to develop in science, learning, and art. We shall solve all these tasks if we look boldly ahead and never lose sight of the goal.

Talk by Professor Eisler on the statement published by the SED Central Committee on the 20th CPSU Congress and the Third SED Conference (as broadcast by radio)

Let us imagine ourselves for a moment in the Soviet Union, in the period after 1933. The Soviet Union was gravely threatened by German fascism, by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, which was supported by all international reactionaries. The peoples of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union, had to face, so to speak, hourly the danger of a military attack by all the imperialists against the first socialist power. The fascists and imperialists of the other countries at the same time sent their spies to the Soviet Union. They exploited the reactionary elements still existing there for their war preparations.

In view of such a situation, which was a matter of life and death for the first socialist country, iron discipline, a constant increase in vigilance and strict centralization of the leadership ... were necessary in the Soviet Union.... This involved certain restrictions on democracy. However, these necessary restrictions were only regarded by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the peoples of the Soviet Union as temporary and necessitated by an extremely complicated and dangerous situation, and were to be lifted, of course, as soon as this danger was over.

It is clear, however, that in such circumstances any stand against Stalin, who had great authority, would simply not have been approved by the Soviet people. The people would have regarded this as a weakening of the preparations against the aggressors.

In this situation Stalin began to override the Party and to flagrantly misuse the great authority which he possessed. This led to the well-known grave mistakes which Stalin committed and which have now been rectified. If the Soviet Union had not been involved in such danger by German fascism, by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, it would undoubtedly have been possible to prevent in good time the mistakes of Stalin and the personality cult of Stalin, and to preserve ... the leadership of the Communist Party and its inner-party democracy, and certainly to restore them at an earlier date.

RUMANIA

Munca, 4 July (as broadcast by radio)

An old, wise saying of the workers movement states that the class enemy's praise is the surest sign that you are on the wrong track. The reverse of this rule is just as valid: The louder and more furiously the enemy shouts, the more the blows dealt to him hurt him.

Every slander campaign and attack launched by the ideologists of capitalism against the revolutionary workers movement always reflects the panic which has taken hold of the enemies of the working class. This is why nobody was surprised that the 20th CPSU Congress brought on furious attacks by the ideologists of capitalism as a result of the state of unrest and irritation in which the camp of the enemies of the working class lives.

Fully approved and supported by the entire Party and by all the Soviet People, by brother communist and workers parties, and by millions of working people in the capitalist and colonial countries, the decisions of the 20th Congress became at once of worldwide historic importance. They constituted a new phase in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and opened up new prospects for the United actions of all the parties of the working class for the prevention of a new war and for the promotion of the workers' interests.

The first results are visible to all. The Soviet people have closed their ranks even more closely around the Communist Party and are achieving remarkable results in all fields of the Soviet Union's political, economic, and cultural life. But this is occurring not only in the Soviet Union. Facts everywhere show the great vital force of the decisions of the 20th Congress for the international workers and communist movement, for the struggle of all progressive forces for the strengthening of world peace.

Adopted by the broad workers masses, the theoretical theses of principles set down by the Congress are daily becoming a force which worries the enemies of socialism and progress. The theses regarding the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, (the theses regarding?) the possibility of preventing wars, and the diverse

forms of transition to socialism contribute to the easing of tension, to the strengthening of the unity of action of the forces of peace and democracy, and to the continued consolidation of the positions of the world system of socialism.

Under these conditions it is easy to understand that the enemies of socialism and communism are striving with all their might to distract the attention of the working class and its parties from the advanced and inspired ideas which the socialist world is proclaiming.

Reflecting this situation, analyzing the internal and international events of the current phase, and clearly answering the problems raised in life, the decision of the CPSU Central Committee published yesterday, regarding the liquidation of the cult of personality and its consequences, is a document of exceptional importance.

The CPSU Central Committee's document speaks with the all-powerful voice of truth about the invincible progress of the historical development of mankind toward communism, about the emptiness of the illusions of the ideologists of capitalism--the amateurs who fish in troubled waters.

The tricks of the bourgeois press and of the reactionary circles which they sought to use in their new anti-Soviet slander campaign appear (ridiculous?) and foolish to all. Using as a pretext the facts linked with the cult of personality of Josef Stalin, a cult which the CPSU has condemned, they conceal the fact that this is a past phase in the life of the Soviet Union.

With the dishonesty which was always characteristic, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are forgetting the fact that, beginning 3 years ago, a persevering and firm action has been carried out for the liquidation of the consequences of the cult of personality, and that the new tasks in the interest of the consolidation of peace and the building of communism, in the interest of the broad people's masses are being successfully implemented in the Soviet Union.

Everybody can realize that precisely this courageous and principled criticism of the cult of personality which is being carried out on the initiative of the CPSU Central

Committee is an eloquent proof of the force and the solidarity of the Party and the Soviet socialist system. Only a Party educated in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist teachings, a Party serving the people and linked with and supported by the people can permit itself to take such an open stand. Not one of the leading parties of the capitalist countries has and will ever risk such a step on its own initiative.

The decision of the CPSU Central Committee shatters the slanderous (whispers?) of the inimical ideology which has tried to show that the appearance of Stalin's cult of personality was caused not by certain historical conditions of the past but by the very Soviet system.

How absurd this slander is, is proved by the entire history of the development of the Soviet state. Led by its Communist Party, the Soviet Union has traveled a glorious road, a road which it built by overcoming the greatest dangers and difficulties.

Despite an economic, cultural, and technical backwardness of centuries, and under the conditions of a fierce fight against class enemies at home and abroad, the Soviet people built socialism, (and?) carried Marxism-Leninism to victory.

The Soviet socialist system has amply proved its superiority by the unprecedented rate of its economic and cultural development. All this was possible because the Soviet system put into motion the inexhaustible forces of the people's masses, gearing the millions of people to the conscious leadership of the state, to creative, active participation in the building of socialism. No isolated personality, however strong he may be, can change the nature of such a profoundly democratic system in which the decisive force is the working people's masses of millions.

Only by an idealistic aberration, by denying Marxism, by denying the truth can (they?) come to the conclusion that the nature of a social-political regime is determined by something other than the manner of production, and the possession of the means of production and the political power of the class.

The socialist manner of production was established in the Soviet Union almost 40 years ago while the power rested in the hands of the working class and the peasantry. This explains why the evil done by the cult of personality in the leadership of the various branches of the Soviet Party and state did not and could not divert the development of Soviet society from the correct road of evolution toward Communism.

This explains why the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress regarding the liquidation of the consequences of the cult of personality and the reestablishment of the Leninist norms of Party life, and the development of socialist democracy are being carried out with so much success.

The CPSU Central Committee's decision rightly stresses that the entire international communist and workers movement considers the fight against the cult of personality and its consequences a struggle for the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for a creative approach to the solution of international problems, and for the establishment and the ceaseless development of the principles of proletarian internationalism. Not only the militants of the workers movement, but all working people devoted to the cause of peace admit the great historical merit of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the implementation of the decisions of the 20th Congress.

Our working people led by their Party on the road of building socialism feel profound gratitude to the gigantic contribution of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in the victory of the common cause of socialism and peace.

ALBANIA

Zeri I Popullit, 4 July (as broadcast by radio)

The reaction concerning the discussions of the 20th CPSU Congress is still being observed throughout the world. The decisions have been approved everywhere by all the Communist and workers Parties, workers, and millions of people. The Congress' most (important?) theses concerning the international situation, the development of communism in the Soviet Union, and the respect of Leninist principles by the Party in connection with the liquidation of the cult of personality have opened great prospects for the future of mankind by giving a new impetus to the revolutionary movement in all countries.

Undoubtedly these theses brought about reaction in the camp of our enemies and a new propaganda of lies about a so-called socialist crisis. However, nothing can stop the dissemination of the great ideas of this Congress. Moreover, it should be admitted that we are still in the early stages. Only 4 months have passed since the Congress. However, this period revealed the great and vital force of its decisions for the international communist and labor movement, for the struggle of all the progressive forces for consolidating peace in the world, as stated in the decision of the CPSU Central Committee regarding the excesses of the cult of personality and its consequences, carried by our press yesterday.

The June 30 decision of the CPSU Central Committee thoroughly reviews the reaction in all countries brought about by the great problems debated at the 20th Congress and minutely analyzes the results of the reaction of the first phase.

The decisions of the 20th Congress and the measures for their implementation, the latest decision of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes, reveal a wholly principled attitude on a series of problems and (several words unintelligible--Ed.). Great results are being achieved even now. These results demonstrate the force of the decisions of the 20th Congress which in the future will enliven the movement for socialism, democracy, and peace to such an extent as never has been seen before.

It unmasks bourgeois propaganda theses which aim at sowing skepticism about the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, and replies to a number of problems connected with the cult of the individual. For example, how it was possible that the cult of Joseph Stalin developed and went to such an extent under socialist conditions.

The 20th Congress was enthusiastically received by all the people. Now it exercises great influence in the development of the international situation. The people link closely with the 20th Congress the obvious results in the easing of international tension, the dissemination of the idea of peaceful co-existence, and the revival of hopes for prevention of war at the present time. It may well be noted that no other socialist ideas had such a drawing power and exercised such great influence over the working and progressive movement in the world as did the decisions of the 20th Congress.

This is what alarms and disturbs the camp of the enemies of socialism. It is not without purpose that the bourgeois propaganda is making so much uproar about the Stalin cult and its consequences, its intention is to obscure all other matters and, by condemning the cult of Stalin, to create the impression that there is confusion and lack of unity among the international communist and workers parties, and to minimize Soviet prestige.

It is true that the attempts of socialist enemies in this purpose are great and--despite the fact that they have received the answer they deserve and they have been and are being unmasked--the matter should not be underestimated. On the contrary, vigilance must be strengthened and we must step up our fight against them.

It is a fact that during this period certain persons in certain People's Democracies--awaiting the most favorable moment to attack the Party--appropriated the lies of the hostile propaganda and, screening themselves behind the slogans of the 20th Congress, attacked Communist and workers parties and their leaders and lied about the Soviet Union and the socialist system.

Indeed, was it not the same thing which certain hostile elements who dared raise their heads at the Tirana Town Party conference but who received the answer they deserved by the Party also wanted to do in our own country? It is a fact that often wrong interpretations are made in connection with certain matters of the cult of the individual. However, one thing is clear, the bourgeois propaganda aimed at disturbing the people is losing ground and the principle of condemning the cult of the individual is getting stronger every day.

The decision of the CPSU Central Committee systematically unmasks bourgeois propaganda theses in connection with the distortion of the question of the cult of personality. Thus it showed that the bourgeois propaganda purposely does not mention the fact that now the question of the cult of the individual is a past thing in the life of the Soviet Union and that during the past 3 years the CPSU carried out a determined struggle to liquidate the cult of the individual and its consequences.

Hostile propaganda tries to raise questions such as: Why was the question of the cult of the individual raised now? This was done in order to create skepticism about the sincere and courageous self-criticism carried out at the 20th Congress. Asking how the cult of the individual arose, hostile propaganda pretended that the cult of the individual was brought about by the socialist system itself which, therefore, is not a democratic system and so forth.

However, the June 30 decision of the CPSU Central Committee fully unmasks these slanders of bourgeois propaganda on the basis of the facts of life itself. There could be nothing more false than saying that the cult of the individual did not spring up as a result of the prescribed historical conditions through which the Soviet Union had to pass and stating instead that it arose because of the socialist system which allegedly is not democratic.

Where else can more be spoken of genuine democracy than in socialism where the means of production are the people's common property and the regime is in the people's hands? In socialism the people have the means of production in their own hands, as well as the government, thus creating the broadest possible

democracy of their own, while in capitalism neither the production means nor the government are in the hands of the people and in this way there is no democracy for them. This is true.

By its condemnation of the cult of the individual and its consequences in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the CPSU Congress also condemns the violation of socialist laws and takes measures to strengthen the democracy of the people--the real masters of the country.

However, no comparison can be made between our socialist democracy and their bourgeois democracy since these differ as day differs from night. It also should be said that there is no more vain hope than thinking that by raising questions and various doubts the trust of communists and workers in the CPSU and first socialist country in the world will be threatened.

Attempts to isolate the Soviet Union, continues Zeri I Popullit, began with the existence of the Soviet Union and attempts to divide the international workers and Communist movement also began with its existence. These attempts will continue for many years to come. However, to try is one thing, and to succeed is another thing. The enemies of socialism will never achieve this aim because socialist countries are united by the eternal Marxist-Leninist ideas and because their own historic experience has taught them that their strength lies in their unity--their guarantee for the victory of socialism and communism.

Therefore, all the activities of our enemies are doomed to failure. Our solidarity is getting stronger every day. The unity around and trust of all socialist countries, Communist and workers parties, and working people throughout the world for the Soviet Union is increasing. However, we must increase vigilance in order not to leave any gap through which the enemies of socialism may enter their wedges to harm us, be it ever so little.

Our Party has taught us to draw lessons from the CPSU. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress exercised great influence in our country. They inspired all preparations for our Third Congress and all our Congress directives and decisions were guided by the 20th Congress. Currently the 20th Congress decisions show us the way to fulfill the tasks and directives of our Third Party Congress.

Our Party also at once noticed and unmasked the maneuvers of the enemies of socialism, punished Party enemies who dared raise their heads on this occasion, unmasked the deceitful bourgeois propaganda and never allowed a split in its ranks or attacks against and criticism of the Soviet Union, our friend and liberator. Our Party never allowed distortion of the cult of the individual. It took serious measures to liquidate the cult of the individual and its consequences; our Party will persist in this policy.

Our Party is learning valuable lessons from the recent decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the excesses of the cult of the individual and its consequences, enabling it to fight even more effectively against the slanderous propaganda of the bourgeois ideology, persistently explaining anything connected with the problem of the cult of the individual, liquidating any attack against the Party and unity of the world communist and labor movement, consolidating vigilance against the enemies of socialism, and preventing enemies from sowing confusion in our own ranks or violating our friendship and ties with the Soviet Union.

At the same time, Zeri I Popullit concludes, our Party will continue to respect consistently the lofty principle of our Party recognizing the people as the creator of history. It will implement strictly the Leninist rules in the Party, will strengthen internal democracy in the Party and democracy for the people, and will march forward toward the country's socialist construction built on the basis defined by the Third Party Congress.

New York Journal-American
★ Tues., July 10, 1956 ★

Forced Feeding Still Necessary



WESTERN EUROPE

ITALY

Nuovi Argomenti, No. 20, May-June 1956

The condemnation by the present Soviet leaders of certain aspects of Stalin's policy, more particularly, of his method of political leadership, represents, in my opinion, merely a concession to the growing discontent of the great masses of workers and farmers and of the federated peoples of the USSR. In the Soviet Union a profound political crisis is undoubtedly in progress, which expresses the constantly sharper contrast between the grandiose development of the productive forces and the backward forms of the dictatorial state, quite inadequate to express the needs of society. In short, it is a crisis of the totalitarian regime at its foundations.

Faced with this crisis, the Soviet leaders have used Stalin as a huge scapegoat. However, neither the condemnation of the cult of personality, nor the rehabilitation of thousands of innocent persons "liquidated" as traitors and enemies of the people, nor the abandonment of the coarser forms of political and cultural oppression which were in favor during the Stalin era can, naturally, solve the basic political problem which lies at the root of the crisis of the Russian state. These are palliatives of scant real value, even if announced with great demagogic skill. Whether the Russian dictatorship has a personal or collective political leadership, its anachronistic nature will certainly not change. Sooner or later, we shall witness new clamorous episodes of the substantially unsolved crisis.

I do not think that the parliamentary political form of Western type is the only one which can be considered legitimate from the democratic point of view, nor do I think that it is the best or the most adequate political alternative to the present Russian dictatorship. However, I am also convinced that no regime deserves to be characterized as democratic so long as it excludes multiplicity of political currents, their right to express themselves freely in the press and in public meetings, and their right to designate their own men of trust for elective offices. The pseudo-Marxist declaration that there can be no diversity of opinion or political choice where there are no contrasts

of social classes is a ridiculous sophism, all the terms of which are false. It is precisely the enforced absence of opposition newspapers in the country, of opposition currents within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of opposition tickets in elections which gives a fictitious character to all the "democratic" formulations contained in the Stalin Constitution of 1936.

There is a difference of political language not only between West and East but also among citizens of the same city, according to their differing concepts of politics or of social life in general. Thus, as is known, for our own Fascists and the Nazis, although they were Westerners, opposition was treason and discussion was deviation, or heresy, as it is called by the Catholic Church. The diversity of political language, then, does not have racial, ethnographic, or climatic origins, but is the difference between closed societies and open societies. Here it can naturally be asked why closed societies prevail in certain regions and in certain epochs.

Even Russian civilization is of European and Christian type, but somewhat less differentiated than the West. Russia did not have the separation of church and state. Ivan the Terrible knew that it was his duty "not only to hold the reins of power but also to save souls." Russia had neither a Scholastic philosophy, nor a Reformation, nor an independent lay thought (it did not have a St. Thomas, a Machiavelli, or a Galileo). Russia had no free municipalities or cities, except in the limited area of the Baltic. Russia has never had a freely elected parliament or a parliamentary government (the Duma had only a consultative character), nor free trade unions of workers, nor cooperatives administered by the members themselves. The socialist movement there was almost always clandestine. Such a tradition, no doubt, makes the budding and flowering of democratic forms particularly difficult; but what is incomprehensible is why a typical exponent of such a backward cultural situation, like Zhdanov, was accepted as a guide and censor even by Western writers and artists.

In spite of everything, I do not believe in fate, and even less in the inevitability of terror. I do not believe that there are any situations with but a single mode of exit. I do not believe in the sanctity of accomplished facts. If

I can admit that, under given circumstances, terror is indispensable for the political schemes of the tyrant, I deny that it is necessary for his victims.

The fact that the Communists of the entire world believed, at the time, in the Stalin version of the trials and conspiracies just as they believe today in the official condemnation of those monstrous deeds by Stalin's successors is one of the many irrefutable proofs that the Communists of the entire world have been kept under the blindest obedience to the Moscow leaders. The so-called "Italian way of Communism," practiced by the Communist Party of Italy since the liberation and credited to Palmiro Togliatti, seems to contradict such a crude assertion, but only in appearance. It is sufficient to remember that the fate of the individual European countries after the liberation was decreed in the meetings of the Big Four at Yalta and Potsdam. Italy, along with the other countries of the West, was then abandoned by Stalin to Western influence, in exchange for the disinterestedness of Churchill and Roosevelt in the fate of the countries of Eastern Europe. The Communist Parties of Italy and France had to make a virtue of necessity; any foolishness in a contrary direction was vigorously repressed by order of Moscow, just as Stalin himself sent the rebel Markos to Siberia. Thus the "Italian way of Communism" was also a Stalin way.

Many reports lead one to suppose that an internal relaxation of tension is now going on in Russia, but it is perhaps premature to say that a new political phase has opened. A decisive turn will be able to take place only when an important political disagreement is publicly reported and presented for discussion in the Communist press before being solved in a meeting of the party and the state, without the minority's being threatened with extermination.

The vast area, with more than one billion inhabitants, colored pink on geopolitical maps of the world to indicate it as socialist, for purposes of electoral propaganda, is a childish concept, a typical survival of the Stalin epoch. Among the European countries of people's democracy, and between them and their brother peoples situated farther to the east, from the Ukraine to North Korea, the differences and contradictions are no less profound than among the countries of the Western Hemisphere. It is not yet possible to

foresee to what extent the Soviet thaw will allow the various countries of the two world blocs to regain their independence. However, one can feel the duty of declaring that this is very desirable in the interests of peace and democracy.

Ignazio Silone

L'Unita, 28 June, excerpt from a resolution of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party

The Central Committee of the PCI has been unanimous in underlining the great value of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and in approving of the denunciation and condemnation of the errors and criminal violations of Socialist legality and of democracy in the Party and the Soviet state.

Even though the charges and criticisms require a more thoroughgoing examination, they represent not only new possibilities of progress for the Soviet Union but also an essential contribution to the labor and Socialist movement which, within the framework of international solidarity, is bound to develop in every country with a new capacity for criticism and initiative and an ever increasing autonomy.

The guarantee of the basic freedoms and of the development of the human being is an essential element of Socialist society. The Soviet Union will draw new strength and ever growing prestige from the full restoration and further development of these freedoms and of Socialist legality; the struggle for liberation waged by Communists and workers in every country will receive a new impetus.

The Central Committee deems that the extensive and intensive debate which is taking place within the Party, on the problems of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and to which Comrade Togliatti has made such an important contribution with his interview and his report to the Central Committee, must be carried forward in all Party organizations. This debate is encouraged because it makes it possible to derive a lesson applicable also to our Party, for the correction of errors, and for the improvement of our work, while it effectively enriches with fresh political and ideological

content the life of our organizations and is translated into a more active and solidary participation of all comrades in the life and struggles of the Party.

This debate is proof of the Party's vitality and maturity and will contribute to developing the capability and initiative of all comrades and all organizations to face the great problems arising from the new situation, and to contribute to stating accurately and going deeply into the themes of our policy and of the Italian road to Socialism.

This intensive activity of critical examination, of investigation, and of ideological elaboration must flow together into the discussion preceding the congress and into the assemblies and preliminary conventions which will prepare the Eighth National Congress of the PCI.

PRECISELY, THE PROOF!

(Front-page editorial by P. Nenni published in the 1 July 1956 issue of Avanti!)

The article which Avanti! published last Sunday and the article on the highlights of the last Congress in Moscow, which had preceded it by several months, are among those acts of responsibility toward himself, toward the Party, toward the workers, which a person who has any degree of public confidence cannot shirk without failing the first and foremost of his obligations, which is not to be content to establish a fact, but to go back to its political, social, and ideological causes, and to ask himself how and why it happened and what it means. Thus, in going back behind the events denounced in the Khrushchev report to their political and ideological causes, we have come face to face with the principle, from which we cannot deviate far without danger, that corrections of the hereditary deficiencies of political and social institutions, even of those which arose in the creative fervor of revolutions, cannot come (as Rosa Luxemburg maintained in her controversy with Lenin and Trotsky) except from the active and prompt political life of the masses, outside of which everything becomes bureaucratic and corrupt. The Poznan workers' revolt reminds us of the same principle, with painful tragicallness -- a revolt which caught Poland in the process of thawing out, but which shows also, and tragically, the slowness with which the new exigencies of democratic development have been faced in the political and economic and trade-union fields, and emphasizes the urgency of carrying them forward and radically, without any concession to the temptation or to counsels of repression, which does not cure social sores but rather aggravates them.

The fact that the Khrushchev report has created a "scandal"; that our newspapers and those of all parts of the world have interpreted it in

their own way, and sometimes, to be sure, quite wisely: that it has

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brought a whole slew of attacks or has given occasion to the people of the most diverse education, who have no knowledge of socialism, either ideologically or in action, to take me and us in hand to teach us how socialists behave -- all this has been disregarded. We cannot shirk our own duty through fear of the criticisms or of the speculations to which we may be exposed. The debate which has been begun must continue. The socialists and the Communists have much to gain and very little to lose. In time we shall tally up the results of the controversy. The urgent thing is to answer those who have stated that they are waiting for proof.

Actually, it is we who have been waiting for proof for some time, patiently, with a strong dose of forbearance, but also with the feeling that matters cannot remain as they are.

The proof which Saragat is waiting for us to provide pertains to foreign and domestic policy. He says so politely. Others say so rudely.

In the cleverest and most padded political comments of the past week there was, hidden or openly expressed an invitation to jump across the ditch, to gain for me and for us an air of bourgeois respectability through renouncement of the pledge to push the situation to the left in order to join that sort of brotherhood of death which is the so-called democratic center. They will wait for quite a while!

Today in the world and in Europe there exist the bases for a new foreign policy. In Italy there exist bases for a new domestic policy. The socialists are ready to cooperate in working out its lines, its objectives, its programs. Time is lost if they invite us to accept the old De Gasperi foreign policy, now that this policy lacks even the apparent justification it drew from the danger of war, which, by design or not, it helped to stir up. They are wasting saliva and ink if they invite us to accept the Shelba's domestic policy, fed by a "sanfedista" (follower

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of a politico-religious association which existed in Southern Italy after the French Revolution and was highlighted by the leadership of Cardinal Ruffo) and Mc Carthyist spirit, and by conservative fears. Above all, an invitation of this type is foreign to the trend of our era, which has emerged, perhaps for a long time, from the spiral of hatreds and fears.

Everything around us is in a state of evolution. Bolshevism is evolving, dropping the myths so that the conquests of the revolution flourish and develop, a democratic reorganization of the entire Soviet society. Communism is seeking its own road of evolution; at least Italian Communism. The balance of power between states is gradually evolving. The balance of strength between classes is evolving. Entire continents and vast national groups are in movement, awakening from an ancient lethargy. The little Italian political world stands still, observes, basks at the moon while the caravan passes by, awaits the surrender of the socialists, while everything which has characterized it (this little world) for the past years goes out, vanishes, and dies.

In this regard it is correct that we socialists do not have to abandon any of the struggles we have fought in the last ten years: neither the fight against the military blocs and the Atlantic (Pact) excesses, nor the fight against war in favor of neutrality, nor our opposition to a domestic policy threaded with provocations and discriminations, nor the mass action to exact basic rights of existence and dignity for the workers, nor, above all, the campaign for national and international détente.

The changes which have taken place since 1953, especially in the past year, in the international situation and in the situation of individual nations did not rain down from heaven. They are the result of the détente which we believed in when others denounced it (as they still do) as a trick, and to which we have adhered.

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It will be difficult to achieve anything as long as whoever starts a discussion with us does not keep this in mind and does not draw its conclusions. This fact is known to the internal Christian Democrat forces who have pushed and are pushing for a meeting, which we do not claim should take place exclusively on our party's terms, yet will never occur if based on the principles against which we have fought during the past ten years. This fact is certainly known by the social-democrats, who seek activities in common with us in the hope of socialist unity, for which (activities) decision of the majority of their party two days ago, which practically nullifies the forward step taken on the "Giunte" problem, has caused profound disillusionment.

At any rate, there is something comical in the row among the center parties over who will shoulder the responsibility for writing finis to the centrist political alignment. Fanfani blackmails the social-democrats with an unloaded pistol, and Malagodi does likewise with Fanfani. If the social-democrats proceed along the road they have taken in Milan, if La Pira moves straight forward in Florence, if the same goes for Genoa and Venice, you can rest assured that nothing at all will happen in Rome, and if by chance a crisis develops it will not be a catastrophe for anyone. The worst thing is that the social-democrats are in this game, as well as those who interpreted the 27 May election results as an invitation not only to a policy of socialist unity but to one of socialist reunification. Let those who are asking us for proof be careful, let them beware of missteps!

Fortunately, just as the development of the discussion with the Catholics does not depend upon Fanfani (who, it seems, wants to be the liquidator of everything new forthcoming from the Christian Democratic national Congress of Naples) so the development of a socialist policy does not depend upon the solution of the "Giunte" question.

even if in the immediate future it (this policy) will be partly conditioned by it (the Giunte problem).

It seems to me that the need for a socialist unity policy springs from basic factors; from the end of the threat of a third world war; from the end of the terror of a Soviet march to the European Atlantic and the Mediterranean which beclouded many minds; from the radical changes which have occurred in international disputes, just as are changing the bases of the domestic struggle, freed at last from every threat of violent overthrows, brought back--and largely because of the socialists--on the road to natural revolutionary evolution.

But since big things, big ideas are still influenced by the small, we answer those who ask for proof that the things for which we aim are a new orientation, a new impetus to Italian society, to the State, an impetus which could and can start from the communes, which are the prime and most sensitive cell of democratic life.

In conclusion I would like to call the attention of our comrades, of the workers, and of the large portion of the socialist electorate who placed their confidence in us a month ago, to the new clear intent of the campaign in progress against us which flares up every time we assume new and broader autonomous responsibilities, that is, the intent to drive us back to positions of sectarianism, extremist, and "socialcommunist" isolation.

This is such an open game that I feel it does not fool anyone.

UNITED KINGDOM

London Times
June 30 1956

Unrest Gets Above the Surface

Only one firm conclusion can be drawn from the Poznan riots. This is that the tentative relaxation of the Stalinist tyranny is resulting in sporadic outbursts of unrest both in Russia and in the satellite countries. Earlier known cases were the east Berlin disorders of 1953 and those in the Vorkuta prison camp in the U.S.S.R. itself. This year has brought the student riots in Tiflis, the gravity of which it is hard to gauge, and Thursday's events in Poznan. There may be other cases which are never heard of in the west. The Berlin and Poznan outbreaks had this in common, that they both took place under the eyes of western observers.

That such a determined assault on Soviet authority should have been made in Poland is true to the character of the Polish people. Their acceptance of Soviet overlordship has been more reluctant than that of any other satellite country. They have been the most restive in pressing for further concessions now that the thaw has begun. Poznan, like Berlin, has a revolutionary tradition. An industrial town with a university, it has always been the centre of a Catholic-nationalist spirit. The Soviet Government has thought fit to keep a strong Russian garrison in the vicinity, as have Polish and German Governments in the past.

What will be the reaction of the Soviet authorities if such incidents continue?

While it may be easy to quell the individual outbreak at Poznan, it is clear that this is no mere flash in the pan, but rather a symptom of some more general stirring. The Soviet Government, having denounced Stalinism and in various ways set out on more liberal paths, will hardly be able to stand still. The appetite for greater freedom grows by what it feeds on. The present rulers of Russia might decide to satisfy it in their own country at a certain cost, but if they do so in the satellites they run the risk of forfeiting the position of strength they have built up for themselves on their western frontiers since the war.

Alternatively, they might decide to scrap their new experiments and revert to a policy of Stalinist repression. There would be a precedent for this. The situation bears resemblances to that in 1905 when there was a series of outbursts against the Tsarist régime which amounted in sum to a state of revolution. The sequel was the period of authoritarian reaction under STOLYPIN. It may still be possible for the Soviet Government to follow suit if it wants. It has at its disposal all the modern machinery of repression. On the other hand, the idea of a freer life has begun to spread among the masses under Soviet rule. History would suggest that in the long run it may be irrepressible.

London Observer
July 1 1956

Poznan Poser for the Kremlin

By EDWARD CRANKSHAW

THE Polish leadership has been admitting the existence of serious discontent among the workers for some time past. As long ago as April the First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Ochab (a man with strong Stalinist affiliations), said to a meeting of party activists in Warsaw: "It can hardly be said that we, as the ruling party, have raised the standard of living to the level required by the workers and at the pace we ourselves envisaged at one time."

The average wage in Poland is officially given as 850 zloties a month; but in the same speech Ochab admitted that in fact "several hundreds of thousands" of workers were still earning less than 500 zloties a month. On May 20, *Zygie Gosparcz* carried an article complaining of low living standards which stated categorically: "A person who earns only 1,000 zloties a month cannot make ends meet. . . . Masses of people live in indescribable conditions."

Long Tradition of Independence

This is the background to the Poznan riots—and to the feeling of the Polish working class in general: a state of seething discontent, acknowledged by the Government, and waiting to flare into the open. The motive was economic rather than political; but recent political developments have had a close bearing on the present situation.

That the explosion, when it came, occurred at Poznan, was due to a number of factors. In the first place Poznan has a long tradition of independence. It has a strong German element, dating from the days of Prussian rule, and more than once in the past it has defied the Warsaw Government. It is also one of the main headquarters of Catholicism; and Catholicism in Poland still stands for the people against the Government. Further, a number of Poznan factories have lately switched from armament production to peace-time production, and the workers have lost the extra wages paid to those engaged in the armament industries.

Real Grievances Admitted

It is fairly clear that the workers of the Stalin locomotive works had been planning for some time past a peaceable demonstration timed to coincide with the Poznan trade fair, in order to obtain the maximum of publicity. But feelings were inflamed by two things; the arrest of a number of workers for going on strike, and the slamming of the door in the face of a workers' delegation sent to Warsaw to lay the case of their fellows before the Government. These two events set the demonstration on fire.

It is not only Poznan, however. The seriousness of the general situation in Poland as a whole is reflected in Government statements. In one breath the Prime Minister, Cyrankiewicz, ascribes the riots to imperialist provocateurs and declares that those responsible will be punished with the utmost rigour of the law; in the next breath he is admitting the existence of very real grievances which he puts down to "economic difficulties" and also to "mistakes and the incorrect application of existing laws." These mistakes, he went on to say in a statement which was more of an appeal than a threat, will be immediately corrected.

The Polish situation reflects in acute form the dilemma of all the satellite Governments. The great industrialisation programme called for the sacrifice of living standards in the Russian manner. The fulfilment of this sort of programme is possible only through the ruthless application of police terror. With the easing of Soviet pressure under the Kremlin's new look, Poland moved faster than any other satellite towards liberalisation, and the power of the police was curtailed. But the Government has not been able to adapt its economic programme to the new spirit.

The liberalisation has been real. The Poles, always impetuous and reckless, rushed to proclaim the new freedom, and at the first sign of decreasing pressure Polish intellectuals, writers and poets immediately began to talk at the tops of their voices with

a lack of discretion which sent shudders down the spines of their friends in the West. But nothing happened to them, and they went on talking and writing, satirising and denouncing the system against which, so short a time before, no whisper could be raised. And when the news of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin went round, the Poles were the first to see that everyone knew about it. Nothing happened to them. At the most they received a discreet warning from Moscow not to let things move too fast.

Trying to Walk a Tight-rope

This immunity greatly emboldened rebellious spirits everywhere. And now the Polish workers have made themselves felt. They are not Russians, inured to sullen obedience. Given a chance, they have protested against the miserable conditions of their lives. But a line has to be drawn somewhere. Economics and living conditions, unlike political ideas, touch the hard facts of life. The workers of Poznan are asking for something which the Government cannot in present circumstances provide: more food, better clothes, a better life. Ever since the change of mood in the Kremlin the Polish Government has been trying to compromise, to walk a tight-rope, to give greater freedom without the means to enjoy that freedom.

The great decision now lies with the Kremlin: a return to repression, which would make nonsense of Mr. Khrushchev's earnest protestations—or the granting of more freedom and more than the sham of independence—which would call for a decisive check in the forced industrialisation programme, at the expense of existing plans.

London Times
July 2 1956

RUSSIAN LEADERS EXCUSE THEIR SILENCE UNDER STALIN

From Our Special Correspondent

MOSCOW, JULY 2

The Soviet leaders who have succeeded Stalin undertook to-day to explain why Stalin's errors and excesses, which are now subject to constant criticism, were permitted to occur. A long decree, published in the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda*, explains that it was not lack of personal courage on the part of the present leaders that permitted the development of Stalin's one-man dictatorship, known as the cult of the individual, but rather a set of historical circumstances which made it impossible to deter Stalin from mass oppressions and other crimes.

The decree runs to almost 7,000 words and is signed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Apparently it seeks to reply to questions concerning the earlier role of Stalin's heirs which have been raised by Russians as well as persons abroad since the reappraisal of Stalin was begun.

CALCULATED RISK

The Communist Party document declares that certain capitalist and imperialist elements are trying to take advantage of the calculated risk of the de-Stalinization programme, which was undertaken in an effort to release long repressed initiative on the farm and in the factory, by "resorting to all manner of tricks and ruses to distract the attention of working people from the progressive and inspiring ideas the Socialist world puts forward before humanity."

Although the Soviet Union is seeking to correct mistakes of the Stalin past and is "doing very much to bring about a relaxation of international tension—and this is now recognized everywhere—American monopoly capital continues to assign large sums of money to strengthen subversive activities in Socialist countries."

The decree states that at the peak of the cold war the United States Congress appropriated \$100m. for the purpose of conducting subversive activities in Communist countries, and that recently another \$25m. has been appropriated for the same purpose.

SUBVERSION IN POLAND

Such funds, the decree says, have been used to stimulate the Poznan riots. "Agents provocateurs and subversive elements who were paid out of the oversea funds had enough 'go' in them only for a few hours. The toilers of Poznan resisted hostile sallies and provocations. The plans of the dark knights of cloak and dagger have fallen through, their dastardly provocation against the people's power in Poland has failed. All future attempts at subversive actions in

people's democracies are similarly doomed to failure, even though such actions are generously paid for out of funds assigned by American monopolies."

The decree, which is dated June 30, closes on this note: "No malicious, slanderous outbursts of our enemies can halt the invincible historical march of mankind toward Communism." It calls upon all party organizations to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to observe the "supreme principle" of collective leadership, and to end violations of the revolutionary Socialist laws.

In spite of Lenin's warning, Stalin retained the post of general secretary and, according to the account in the decree, did "reckon with the critical remarks of V. I. Lenin for a period immediately following his death." However, later Stalin began ignoring party democracy, called meetings of the Central Committee less regularly, grossly flouted the Leninist principles of leadership, and "in fact, was beyond criticism." The successes of the people and party were attributed to Stalin, and in this

atmosphere, the decree explains, any effort by the men around Stalin to oppose him would not have been supported by the people.

The decree poses the question which undoubtedly has been widely asked in the Soviet Union: "Why, then, had not these people [the present leaders] come out openly against Stalin and removed him from the leadership? In the prevailing conditions this could not be done. The facts unquestionably show that Stalin is guilty of many unlawful acts, that were committed particularly in the last period of his life. However, one must not forget at the same time that the Soviet people know Stalin as a man always acting in defence of the U.S.S.R. against the machinations of enemies and working for the cause of Socialism."

The decree stresses that it was not that the present leaders had lacked personal courage to oppose Stalin. "Any opposition to him under these circumstances," it says, "would not be understood by the people, and it is not at all a matter of lack of personal courage. It is clear that everyone who in these circumstances would come out against Stalin would get no support from the people."

Another reason given for lack of action against Stalin while he lived was that "many facts and wrong actions of Stalin, particularly in the sphere of violating Soviet law, became known only lately, after Stalin's death, chiefly in connexion with the exposure of Beria's gang and the establishment of party control over the security organs."

SPECTATOR, JUNE 22, 1956

MEN IN IRON MASKS

WHEN Communist leaders in other countries can accuse the reigning group in the Kremlin, and not merely those who happen to be awaiting execution, both of personal faults and of inadequate Marxism, it is plain that strange moves are afoot. Togliatti has now pointed out (what was plain enough to non-Communists already) that Khrushchev's excuses for his own and his colleagues' failure to stop Stalin are inadequate, and that he seems not to have considered what is at fault in the Soviet system that such a dictatorship could arise. Khrushchev is said to have told Nenni that he realised these revelations might wreck the French and Italian Communist Parties, but they had been made for urgent internal reasons. And the soundest interpretation of the secret speech is that it was a result of the struggle for power within the Party Praesidium. The original attack on the 'cult of personality' seems to have been an emergency measure to prevent Khrushchev's assumption of supreme power. Khrushchev, if this is right, then acted on the old political principle 'If you can't beat them, join them,' and took over sponsorship of the move—several parts of his speech are clearly directed against Malenkov and others. (And the struggle continues. The Army paper *Voyenny Vyesnik* has now been heavily counter-attacked from above simply for repeating Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin's military skill.)

The speech should not be taken as gospel: there is a great deal of omission and some obvious falsification. But it at last revealed the truth of striking and important political cases which have for decades been as much debated as that of the Man in the Iron Mask.

There is a great deal of dynamite in all this which is now exploding all through the Communist world. The ruling group itself was just that small minority who managed to keep Stalin's confidence to the end—a very considerable reflection on their characters, as in the case of Catesby, Ratcliffe and Lovell. Moreover, Khrushchev undermines the legitimacy of their whole succession. He states, for instance, that ninety-eight out of the 139 members of the Central Committee elected in 1934 were shot in the next year or two, and, again, that Stalin illegally expelled Andreyev from the Politburo. The latter has not, however, been reinstated, nor have the few imprisoned survivors of the old Central Committee re-entered public life.

The falsity of Khrushchev's position does not escape Togliatti, who makes sound points against the Russians. But, no more than Khrushchev's speech itself, is Togliatti's statement lacking in disingenuousness. On the far periphery of the Communist world America's leading pro-Soviet writer, Mr. Howard Fast, is confessing in the pages of the *New York Daily Worker* that he all along knew about Stalinist persecutions in Russia. But Togliatti, who was in Moscow as one of the top operatives of the Comintern during the whole terror, and saw his colleagues arrested by the score, affects to deny all knowledge of

these things. The pattern is simple. The Soviet leaders blame Stalin alone. Those who were a little farther away blame Stalin and the Soviet leaders. But the facts were quite adequately known, and the rest of us are perfectly entitled to blame, as accomplices in varying degrees, all members of the Communist movement at least down to Mr. Fast's level. Neither the Khrushchev speech nor the Togliatti statement shows any signs of being due to the sudden rush to the head of a passion for objective truth. They must be seen as political manoeuvres: Khrushchev's as a desperate effort to secure his position against the Kremlin's barmecides, Togliatti's as a tentative step towards carving out a fief for himself (perhaps in concert with Tito) among the crumbling remnants of the Stalinist ideological empire.

The present leaders both in and out of Russia are using the tones of Leninist democracy. These certainly sound better than those of Stalin, but, still, we know what Leninist democracy was like. Khrushchev's attack on Stalinist terrorism is confined entirely to terrorism exercised against Communists. He notes with approval that 'Lenin without hesitation used the most extreme methods against enemies.' Where Stalin went wrong was that he 'chose the path of repression and physical annihilation not only against actual enemies' but also against Communists. Such are the limits of the new 'liberalisation': Togliatti and Co. see nothing wrong here.

We may as well note that Khrushchev finally and irrefutably justified NATO and the Western atomic bomb programme, which some people would have had us drop. For he not only revealed that the USSR was only a few years ago ruled by a bloodthirsty maniac, but explicitly confirmed that 'the wilfulness of Stalin showed itself also in the international relations of the Soviet Union' so that 'during Stalin's leadership our peaceful relations with other nations were often threatened, because one-man decisions could cause, and often did cause, great complications.' Nor are we offered any guarantee against repetition, even if we make the thoroughly unproved assumption, urged on us by the Bevanbrook axis, that we can trust the present rulers. So long as the Soviet State is sealed off politically and ideologically from its own people and from the world, just as its armaments are withheld from UN inspection, we cannot check their professions. But if they were trustworthy they would have nothing to hide.

While a threat of disintegration hangs over the Communist movement, let us not close our eyes to the danger which faces the rest of us. It is quite likely that a *modus vivendi* will after

all be reached between the Kremlin and the Togliattis. A more flexible, and less obviously anti-national, Communist enemy might be a greater danger than ever to the free nations. In spite of occasional anodyne remarks, no Communist has disavowed the objective of a one-party world, nor the use of violence and fraud, of 'extreme methods' in fact, to bring it about.

THE ECONOMIST, JULY 7, 1956

Trotsky to the Pantheon?

THE communist dialogue is in spate. Prodded by western communist interventions, *Pravda* has had to publish a diluted version of Mr Khrushchev's secret speech. This is really the main purpose of the lengthy official declaration explaining the attacks on the "cult of the individual." Moscow now claims communist approval from Peking and Paris for its new line, but denies Signor Togliatti's charges about signs of degeneracy in Soviet society. Stalin's heirs must also defend themselves against accusations of complicity in their master's crimes. Their defence is twofold. On the one hand, they now put more stress on his positive achievements and also on Russia's encirclement; who, they ask, would have understood them if they had sniped at the commander of a besieged fortress? At the same time they hint that during the war a "Leninist nucleus" of soldiers and politicians did by-pass Stalin's orders. This distinction between more and less "Stalinist" members of the central committee may well foreshadow further removals from the leadership.

Revelations succeed one another at an unexpected pace and little can now be kept behind closed doors for long. Lenin's testament, one of the eighteen documents which Mr Khrushchev apparently released during the secret session of the congress to explain his attack on Stalin, has now been published in *Kommunist*, the theoretical organ of the party. The "testament" is a document in which Lenin outlined the prospects for the party and his assessment of its leaders, foreshadowing a clash between Stalin and Trotsky. His tribute to both was tempered by criticism of their main weaknesses. The appendix to the testament is a subsequent letter in which Lenin requested Stalin's removal from the key post of secretary-general. This the Russians can now read, and the release must be followed quickly by the publication of other restricted texts circulated by Khrushchev. These include Lenin's final violent outburst against Stalin's treatment of minorities and his letter asking Trotsky to lead the attack on the Russifying Georgian in that debate.

New evidence and fresh disclosures seem to be forcing Khrushchev's hand in permanence. He wanted to keep the change gradual and discreet, but was immediately forced into the open. He began his criticism of Stalin in the name of the Stalinist faction, and still defends his master's early years; but now, in the face of Lenin's judgment, many will ask him and his colleagues whether they were not backing the wrong man and the wrong line from the very start. Who could have said a few months ago that Lev Davidovich Trotsky may end up in the Pantheon of the Soviet revolution? Not Mr Khrushchev.

THE ECONOMIST, JULY 7, 1956

Lessons of Poznan

MARSHAL TITO'S reconciliation with Moscow and the revolt in Poznan are related events, two manifestations of the change that has been at work throughout the Soviet orbit since Stalin's death. Tito's visit to Moscow illustrates the extent to which Stalin's heirs have revised not only their master's methods of dealing with smaller communist countries, but also his very concept of what a satellite should be. The Poznan rising is evidence of the explosive forces which such a revision can release.

At the height of the cold war, from 1949 onwards, the very mention of a country's "own road to socialism" was a punishable crime, branding the bold spokesman as a traveller on the heretical road that led to Belgrade. With President Tito's visit to Moscow, Titoism has ceased to be a heresy. True, it never at any time involved the scrapping of communism or the abandonment of one-party rule. It would be wrong to see, in Yugoslavia or in eastern Europe, an evolution towards any political system remotely acceptable to the liberal ideas of the west. Titoism was, rather, a national revolt against Moscow's orders which broadened out into a rejection of the dictation of ideas by Stalin.

By how much has the situation changed since Stalin's death? The communiqué published at the close of the Moscow talks accepted Titoism as orthodox, and actually made it a heresy to question the concept of "own roads to socialism." In recent months Mr Khrushchev and his colleagues have apparently been urging the eastern European leaders to seek their own remedies and solve their own problems. Yet, scarcely had Marshal Tito on his way home left Bucharest—once the Cominform seat from which the denunciation had come, his visit thus marking symbolically the end of the schism—when the Poznan cannonade began.

For eastern Europe the dismantling of Stalinism is really a dual process. The countries are groping after their own identity, while simultaneously throwing the fetters of Stalinist doctrine on to the historical scrap-heap. The forces unleashed by the "thaw," as this process has come to be called, have never represented as great a threat to the foundations of Soviet society as to the communist regimes of eastern Europe, for reasons which are obvious. Although the doctrine of the Russian revolution came from the west, the revolution itself came from within Russia, and it has lasted nearly forty years already. During this period Russian society has been torn apart and reshaped, and new generations brought up to whom the status of the free, property-owning peasant is as little known as that of the landlord or the merchant. In eastern Europe, though it could rely on degrees of support which varied from one country to another, the revolution was not an indigenous force but a ready-made product imported in the luggage of the victorious Soviet Army. (President Tito's position as a successful resistance leader was quite exceptional and largely explains his strength.) The last ten years have not been

enough to uproot all remnants of the past, all old convictions and longings. Over wide areas the Catholic Church still claims the allegiance of a large part of the population. The land, except in Bulgaria, is still largely in the hands of peasant smallholders suspicious of a regime philosophically committed to their elimination. The Poznan outburst has now shown that the industrial working class is not immune from discontent, either.

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Poland has a long romantic tradition of desperate struggle in seemingly lost causes. Yet this is not the only reason why the first explosion should have taken place there. Poland is the best test-tube for the study of the metamorphosis of a satellite, because it is there that the experiment has gone furthest. Throughout the postwar period Polish Communist rulers, heirs of leaders executed in Stalin's jails, showed a greater reluctance in carrying out Moscow's orders than did other satellite bosses. Rajk, Kostov and Slansky had been executed, but the rehabilitation of Wladyslaw Gomulka, the disgraced Polish party secretary, did not have to be posthumous. When Stalin's heirs gave the signal to relax the discipline, the Poles began to move forward with a singular enthusiasm. The rejection of Stalinism provoked a greater intellectual ferment there than elsewhere. The Polish Communist party suffered an apparently genuine fit of conscience which led it into violent condemnations of its own hypocrisies in the past. Writers, after years of euphemism, dipped their pens in black ink to describe the seamy side of a People's Democracy with such gusto that Polish newspapers have lately been kept off the news-stands in Prague, Sofia, and Bucharest.

The whole trend seemed to develop with official blessing. The Sejm (parliament) was allowed to raise a critical voice; *émigrés* were invited back; the AK—the resistance movement directed from London during the war—was rehabilitated. Thousands of prisoners were released by a mass amnesty, while the UB—the security police—was attacked for violating “socialist legality,” its chiefs sacked or imprisoned, and its hold on the population greatly weakened by persistent criticism of its abuses both from above and from below. A new reign of freedom was being proclaimed from the house-tops, but the economic measures to quieten the resulting expressions of discontent were taken belatedly and could not, in any event, keep pace with the political wave. Workers may well have read in all these signs the permission to stake their demands bluntly, and opponents of the regime a chance to precipitate a crisis.

That the first outburst should have taken place in Poznan itself, in the Polish west, is somewhat more perplexing. Poland may have a tradition of insurrection; bloody clashes with the police were not unknown before the war; but Poznan is not the heir of that tradition. This stolid city, so long in Prussian possession, was a stronghold of the right-wing National Democrats, and its labour was far from being a social-

ist vanguard. Anti-German feeling, ingrained by history, formed a link between this region and the communist government. At the same time the prosperous, westernised population of Poznan probably resented the economic disorder and the ensuing shortages more actively than any other. The spark was apparently given by a blundering revision of work schedules, amounting to a cut in earnings. Was the patience of the Poznan workers really exhausted and the revolt an expression of blind, uncalculating despair, or did a peaceable demonstration for the righting of grievances get out of control? It is for the moment impossible to disentangle a clear answer from the conflicting evidence. Yet, whoever pulled the trigger, the communists themselves candidly admit that “legitimate grievances of the workers” made the rising possible.

The communist government will obviously seek consolation in the special character of Poznan and excuses in “the work of foreign agents”. But when the proletariat deserts a “proletarian dictatorship”, Marxist rulers must ponder seriously the real reasons for the discontent, and its extent. It is not easy from outside to measure the standard of life in eastern Europe or to draw precise comparisons with the prewar level. The Poles claim that consumption a head of foodstuffs and other consumer goods is higher now than before the war. At the same time they admit that real wages have risen only imperceptibly since 1950, that acute shortages are being felt, and that many wages are still little above the starvation level. One possible explanation of the contrast between certain claims and the known facts of poverty and dissatisfaction may lie in the extremely rapid growth of the urban population throughout eastern Europe. Poznan itself has now 375,000 inhabitants against 275,000 in 1939. Peasants, come to town, acquire new tastes; their pressure on the supply of consumer goods grows quickly heavier.

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But the growth of the urban population is only one aspect of the rapid industrialisation on the Stalinist model which eastern Europe has shared with the Soviet Union, and of which the industrial workers have prob-

ably had to bear a large part of the burden. Massive investment, the stress on heavy industry and since 1951 on defence, overcrowding, high food prices—all these had to be paid for industrialisation at breakneck speed. This was the economic basis of Stalinism in Russia. The east European leaders have been trying to change their Stalinist political edifice without adapting its economic foundations.

What next? Has the new wave sweeping through eastern Europe been broken on the Poznan dam, and will it now recede? Prophecy is a difficult art, but some lessons can be drawn from the precedent of Berlin three years ago. The parallel between the two events is striking: in each case the revolt followed quickly upon the first signs of relaxation, and in each it was a blunder over wage-rates that precipitated the

storm. In Berlin after the June rising of 1953 a clear attempt was made to put the political lid back on. Now, too, the advocates of going slow in dismantling the Stalinist empire, whether in Budapest, Prague or Moscow, will seek in Poznan an argument for their case and for the maintenance of a strong grip by the security police. Yet, even in eastern Germany the economic concessions were maintained and the current of political relaxation reasserted itself.

Mr Cyrankiewicz, the Polish premier, has declared that the process of "democratisation" will go on unabated. Something may well be set in motion immediately to relieve the economic grievances. Poland alone of the countries of the Soviet bloc has not yet published its new five-year plan; there may still be an opportunity to shift the balance of economic effort in the consumer's favour. Events may force other countries as well to revise their integrated plans in the same direction. Nor need the political process be arrested. The partisans of the new line, arguing that what is required is more and not less of the same medicine, may continue to carry the day, leaving Poznan as a tragic reminder of the risks involved not only in establishing, but also in relaxing, a dictatorship and an empire.

Whatever shape the transformation should take, the West can no longer view it with the mental rigidity born of the earlier phase of the cold war. Then, when the countries of eastern Europe were being moulded to the same pattern and thrust into the Stalinist strait-jacket, it was convenient to lump them together as Moscow's satellites. Now that the strait-jacket is being lifted the behaviour of each east European country must once again be looked at for itself.

THE ECONOMIST, JUNE 30, 1956

Nenni on Liberty

IT is in Italy that the Khrushchev version has created the greatest intellectual ferment. After Signor Togliatti's challenge to Moscow, it was the turn last week of Signor Nenni. His essay in *Mondo Operaio* is probably the most balanced assessment to have come as yet from a leftist political figure. Signor Nenni criticises Mr Khrushchev for not providing any historical interpretation of Stalinism and shows the contradiction between the achievements of the Soviet Union and the portrait of the maniac who apparently presided over the country's destiny. For him, Stalin's heirs cannot find an excuse in terror, because "they had been placed in positions of responsibility . . . precisely to face difficult situations." Finally, he traces the progressive substitution of the Bolshevik dictatorship for that of the proletariat, and of Stalin's rule for that of the party, and concludes that what Russia now needs above all is a change of institutions in the direction of democracy; he thus ends with a measured plea for personal liberty.

What lesson for the future Signor Nenni draws from all this is less clear. His essay is not a mere attempt by a former Stalin Prizewinner to extricate himself from a predicament. He and his party are likely to benefit from the new situation. They may well gain from both sides: the Communist disarray should bring them some fresh support on the left, while their new emphasis on democracy and liberty could win them the sympathy, not only of Signor Saragat's Social Democrats, but also of the left wing of the Christian Democratic party. How will Nenni manoeuvre in the circumstances? He can use his stronger position to influence Communist policy. He may also look increasingly to his right and progressively relax the "pact of action" now uniting him with the Communists.

His decision will be fateful for the international working class movement. For the moment he merely claims that new relations will have to be worked out. The end of the Cominform and the dethronement of Stalin mark, in his opinion, the end of an era in the international movement as well, and this would indicate that he thinks of creating a new united international rather than of joining the existing anti-communist one. Signor Nenni has aces up his sleeve, but nobody can tell whom he will choose as partner in the game.

FRANCE

Franc-Tireur, 30 June-1 July

Against the back drop of the workers' revolt in Poznan, against misery, oppression and totalitarian dictatorship, Franc-Tireur publishes today and widely distributes--in collaboration with the Socialist Party and its organ, Le Populaire de Paris--the extraordinary secret report in which, before the members of the 20th Congress of the CPSU the First Secretary of the party, Nikita Khrushchev, officially revealed what we have never failed to denounce: the suffering, the oppression, the absolute dictatorship of the 20 years of Stalin's reign which weighted down the Russian people and the people's democracies, leaving aside the sinister effects that worldwide Stalinism had on the labor movement everywhere.

Before deciding to publish and distribute among the largest popular audience this tremendous confession by one of the old comrades and associates of Stalin we have wanted to wait until the authenticity of the report was clearly and irrefutably established. We wanted to wait for confirmation or else for denials that were sure to come from Moscow or from the different Communist parties should the slightest doubt exist.

Now official and unofficial confirmation has come from everywhere, first from the US and Great Britain, then from Italy where the ex-Stalinist leader Togliatti was forced to discuss the secret report and to pass timid criticism on a collective leadership which has decided at this time to make a single man responsible for the "errors" and "faults" which could well have been collective. The confirmation was issued by the Italian socialist leader Pietro Nenni who goes even farther and places the blame at the door of the system, the dogmas, and the methods which made such failures and crimes possible.

Cautious confirmation has begun to trickle in from Communist parties and finally from Moscow which is taking shelter behind the reactions of certain parties abroad in acknowledging the existence and authenticity of the extraordinary document.

Published and distributed jointly by Franc-Tireur and Le Populaire de Paris, organ of the Socialist Party, the supplement should reach all socialist workers, all democrats and, we hope, through joint efforts also the long-abused, misled, and bewildered Communist masses from which the party of Messrs. Thorez, Fajon, Servin, etc., has painstakingly tried to hide this official testimony from the Kremlin, every line, every fact and every reference of which must forever doom their lies and servility.

Let us read this secret official report. Let nobody shrink from reading the four pages that we have left intact so as to preserve the full impact of the tragic account; all we have done is insert a few subtitles some of which, in quotes, are exact reproductions of Khrushchev's words.

Except for some theoretical considerations and allusions to the period of Lenin's life that serve as a sort of prologue to the speech but which do not touch the 25 years of Stalin's regime, the supplement represents the full text of Khrushchev's indictment of his old master, Stalin the Terrible.

It is, in fact, the portrait of a modern Ivan the Terrible, a documented and minute description of all the acts that Khrushchev himself repeatedly refers to as monstrous, of all the acts that Khrushchev himself calls disgraceful.

The acting First Secretary of the CPSU and all his comrades in the collective leadership well knew this tyrant before whom he and they seem to have trembled so long, but decided to disclose his true nature and his crimes only three years after his death.

When to the indignation, stupefaction and consternation of his audience the author of this report revealed that Stalin caused millions of innocent men to be massacred or deported, that he displaced whole groups of people, that he fabricated out of whole cloth monstrous indictments the mystery of which has at last been brought to light, that by physical and moral torture he made Communists in Russia and elsewhere admit imaginary crimes--he did not tell us anything new, he merely admitted facts.

Franc-Tireur had never ceased proclaiming them, the socialist party had never ceased announcing them, all sincere

old Communists, survivors of purges and executions, had never ceased talking of them. As our comrades of Populaire will remember, Guy Mollet, summed up what French democrats were thinking when he said on the occasion of Stalin's death: "History will record the harm he has done to the labor movement."

And now--sooner than we had expected--the role of history is taken by Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, provisional medium of the glaring truth, a valuable, ranking, and irrefutable witness, because he was at Stalin's side, who claims today, along with the other successors, that he no longer wants a "Stalinine" atmosphere.

Who will henceforth be able to deny the long list of horrors and extravagances of the Stalin regime? Who? Surely not those who showered fulsome praise on all his acts and all his moves and who now wish to go on with the business of the day and to make us believe that all is forgotten--as if rehabilitation of the dead were sufficient to free from responsibility a system that bred the hangmen!

And what a list it is! What a table of bloody contents! All that one needs to do is follow the chapters of the report.

Now Khrushchev himself reestablishes the truth and tries to steal a march on history and inherent justice. But history has outstripped him already. Mr. Khrushchev is too late. The revolt of the Polish workers and people, following the revolt in East Berlin is a sign that perhaps history marches faster than is desired by Mr. Khrushchev and all those who believe that the faults and crimes of a single man can explain and justify everything, and that the cult of personality can be destroyed by putting the entire blame on the shoulders of a single person.

It is perhaps to the involuntary credit of Mr. Khrushchev to have confirmed with so many dramatic trappings what we already knew, to have proclaimed the moral victory of truth and of liberty, and thereby to have opened the way for the most excruciating and simultaneously the most damning revision of the great lies and stifling dogmas in the name of which was enacted all that the First Secretary of the CPSU denounces today, and which we on our part take pride in bringing to the attention of the French people in the greatest possible degree.

L'Humanite, Paris, 27 Jun 1956

Our party has rarely been attacked from so many sides. Speculating on the conditions under which the Khrushchev report was presented and made public and on the emotion aroused by the serious acts for which Stalin is being reproached, certain individuals ask us, others advise us, others urge us strongly--a question of emphasis--to reorganize our party from top to bottom, to turn everything upside down, to renounce everything which has contributed to the grandeur and the authority of our party. Without letup, Le Figaro and L'Aurore, as well as L'Observateur, L'Express, and Le Populaire, are trying to cultivate the party renegades and traitors, from Lecorre to Herve, with the hope that their calumnies will have some effect within the party, and with encouragement and congratulations in advance to this or that Communist intellectual who is told that he has too much intelligence to accept the party line.

While all the lessons of the 20th Congress of the CPSU seem to indicate to us that new steps are being taken forward by the international revolutionary movement, it is natural that everyone wants us to go backward. Not forward toward the magnificent Marxist-Leninist discipline which is sought by the CPSU and which deserves authority in the international worker movement, but toward an opportunist morass where this movement would be if a new type of workers party (the Communist Party) had not appeared in response to an appeal by Lenin.

The final word is issued by the Socialist press, which is leading the way in this campaign. Charles Ronsac, in an article in Demain, fancies that the Khrushchev report and its effect on the French Communists "offers the French Socialists a golden opportunity to tear the working masses" from the influence of our party. To our daily efforts to form a Communist-Socialist united front, Le Populaire responds with a daily anticommunist article. Recently reporting a speech about the 20th Congress of the CPSU made by a Socialist leader returned from the USSR,

this newspaper writes: "In a speech made to the Tours Congress by Leon Blum, he points out that, at that time, the Socialists who remained faithful to the old tradition had the right point of view."

This is the theme, whether conscious or not, of so many attacks on our party. They only make us more attached to our Communist ideal.

Is it still necessary to ask the question, "Who was right?" Another Socialist leader returned from the USSR, Andre Philip, in order to judge the accomplishments of Socialism there, was forced to compare it to his dream of Socialism. Just where is the Socialist Party's Socialism 35 years after Tours? It is nowhere. Nowhere does Andre Philip find an accomplishment or a work of the Socialist Party to compare to that of the Soviet Union.

And we? We have the USSR. And with the USSR, already a whole world system of Socialism, from the Elbe to the Pacific. And hundreds of millions of men of all the countries who are excited by these accomplishments and who are becoming more capable of imitating them. Should one nullify all of this under the pretext that errors and faults, mainly those of Stalin, were able to affect this impressive totality of victories?

There is no question of that. It has never been so obvious that capitalism is dying. Leninism is living and has no lesson to learn except from itself.

Is our party in such a state that is necessary to submit it to a radical change? The 2 January elections have answered that question. It is the first party of the country. It is growing in influence and organization. This year it has recruited tens of thousands of new members. Its press circulation has increased. The Socialist Party leaders--since it is from this height that they pretend to judge us--have enfeebled their party almost continually since the pre-war period.

Which party really shows the way to the working class, to the nation, if it is not the Communist Party? We congratulate ourselves at this time to see so many Socialists taking such

welcome positions on so many different points and taking common action with us on these points. We are happy about what these stands mean, not only on the part of isolated militants, but by sections and federations of the Socialist Party: it is the Socialist Party in its entirety, anxious to seek other roads, which will join in common action with our party tomorrow. But who has pointed out these ways? Who has helped the Socialists discover them....

The Socialist Party or the Communist Party? We do not make it a question of preference to those who agree to fight at our sides, but instead give a proud answer to those who censure us.

These attacks can only lead the Communists to close their ranks. They strengthen their confidence in the party. This is true particularly of the insults and slander aimed at the sorely tried party leaders, particularly Maurice Thorez, whom the party is fortunate in having at its disposal for the good of the working class and all the country, and who have grown as the party has grown. To denounce the cult of the individual, which was done in the Soviet Union, the French Communists--who have committed, shall we say, only minor sins in this realm--do not forget the role of men in the formation and continued forward progress of their party. The present anti-communist campaign finds our party stronger and more united than ever.

Reactionaries will find it useless to suggest to the Communists that, for them, political courage is to accuse their party and its leaders of everything and nothing. Political courage, for the Communist masses, is pride in being Communists in the face of reaction. And it is because they are confident of the merits of their party that French Communists, on the eve of their 14th Congress, will work all the more resolutely among the masses and among the workers of all opinions to form a united workers front, a new Popular Front, and a socialistic France.

WEST GERMANY

Freies Volk (Communist), 2 July (as broadcast by radio)

In answer to open questions, the secretariat of the party executive of the KPD sends us the following statement:

The bourgeois press has published the unauthorized text of a report of the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, which was released by the U.S. State Department and is attributed to Comrade Khrushchev. In this connection, members and functionaries of our party as well as the public have asked a great number of questions of the party executive. This is understandable, since the report deals extensively with gross blunders and arbitrary actions committed by Stalin in addition to his already known errors and mistakes. We shall try to answer frankly and openly all such questions, which were asked in honest conviction and out of concern.

Already before the 20th Party Congress, the leadership of the CPSU began correcting mistakes which had occurred under Stalin's leadership, canceling arbitrary actions of the past and restoring completely the Socialist legality. The open criticism of the 20th Party Congress, which at the same time represented the severest self-criticism, as well as the changes already made guarantee that a repetition of similar mistakes will be impossible. They express the inner strength of the CPSU, its unity, and solidarity.

Aside from uncovering the correcting of these mistakes, as was done at the 20th Party Congress, the CPSU is now faced with the task of ascertaining through a thorough analysis how such mistakes were possible. The precondition and guarantee for the theoretical and practical solution of this great task are created by the broad discussion of these problems in the CPSU and among the Soviet public and by the creative initiative of the masses aroused thereby as well as by the liberation of science from dogmatism, which is closely connected with the cult of the individual.

The uncovering of the causes for the mistakes which occurred in the Soviet Union will be of advantage to those countries which are proceeding on the way toward the construction of Socialism. As a result, they will be able in

their own construction work to avoid the mistakes made in the Soviet Union. For the KPD and the working class of West Germany, too, important new conclusions appropriate to conditions in West Germany will follow from the application of Marxist-Leninist science, which will help to successfully conduct the fight for peace, democracy, and social progress.

By restoring collective leadership, the Soviet Union, during the past years and after the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU has attained considerable achievements in its foreign policy which is based on the consolidation of peace, on the principles of coexistence, and on the desire for a relaxation of tensions and for disarmament. These achievements are the result of the collective policy of the CPSU and the Government of the Soviet Union. With their publication, the aggressive circles want to shake the confidence in the collective leadership of the CPSU, in the Soviet Union, and in the cause of Socialism altogether. They thereby hope to counteract the increasing international relaxation of tensions and the growing power of the workers movement.

It is no accident that it was the Federal Republic which in recent months activated the agitation against the Soviet Union in connection with Adenauer's attempt to push through general conscription and the further militarization of West Germany even against the will of the people. There is a close connection between Adenauer's speeches, saying that the Soviet Union is the "deadly enemy," the distorting assertions about the Soviet Union's German policy, and the U.S. State Department's publication of the report ascribed to Khrushchey. The West German population is beginning to realize that the establishment of friendly relations and the development of trade with the Soviet Union are necessary in the German people's own interest.

The aggressive forces, on the other hand, which expect new business from militarization, see in this development a great danger to themselves, since they have always explained the accelerated militarization to the people with the alleged "threat from the East." This is the reason why they oppose the Soviet Union's efforts for further relaxation of tensions, for disarmament and security, which deeds have proven to be undeniably honest. This is why--in spite of all proof to the contrary--they keep up the assertion that nothing has

changed in the international situation and through the correction of Stalin's mistakes.

In reality, not only criticism and self-criticism were exercised in the Soviet Union, but illegalities and symptoms of degeneration alien to Socialism were abolished. In doing so, Socialism once more proved its superiority over the capitalist system.

While Socialism has freed itself from the deviations and illegalities alien to it, domestic arbitrary actions and suppression and aggression toward the outside are the characteristics of imperialist reign.

Contrary to the demands of large segments of the West German public, the monopolists and militarists stubbornly stick to their policy which harms the interests of the people, finds expression in illegalities toward the citizens, and finally endangers the existence of our entire people and peace in Europe through the threat of another aggressive war. As a result of this situation, the Communists in the Federal Republic, as well as all those who regard a policy of peace, of democracy and understanding the basis for German reunification and for an independent German policy, find it necessary to oppose the anti-Soviet agitation which serves the imperialists to camouflage their antidemocratic manipulations directed against peace.

We Communists proudly state that the KPD always was, is, and will be the standard bearer of Socialism, of friendship with the first Socialist state, the USSR, and of the proletarian internationalism. We shall continue and strengthen this fight in the interest of the German working class, our people, and peace in Europe.

Although the uncovering of the causes which led to the mistakes committed is a task which still has to be solved by the CPSU--and after all can only be solved by the CPSU--we still believe that in judging these mistakes the development of the Soviet Union and its position as the only Socialist state during the first 30 years of its history must be taken into consideration. The Soviet Union developed as the only Socialist state at a time when it was surrounded by a world of enemies. The imperialists left no doubt that they wanted to crush the first workers and peasants state with all available means, including military intervention. No sooner had

the Russian workers and peasants won the victory in their own country, when the armed intervention of the imperialist powers began. The German imperialists and militarists, the imperialists of Britain, France, the United States, and Japan attacked the young Soviet state with their armies. Even after this attempt was thwarted, the imperialists never ceased trying to start a new war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

From the beginning, the German imperialists played an especially aggressive role among the imperialist interventionists against the Soviet power. In 1917, they answered Lenin's peace offers, the first foreign-political step of the new Soviet state, with strengthened military attacks. Even after the peace of Brest-Litovsk did they continue their invasion of the Baltic states and the Ukraine.

After the Soviet Union, in the Rapallo Treaty, had desisted from demanding German reparations, thereby leading Germany out of her complete isolation, the German imperialists had the then Foreign Minister Rathenau murdered and through the Locarno Treaty led the Weimar Republic into the anti-Soviet policy of the imperialist Western Powers. Finally, through the person of Hitler they pushed those political forces into power which had declared war against the Soviet Union and the destruction of Socialism the core of their policy. Thus, the German imperialists were always the pioneers of that anti-Soviet encircling and invasion policy which has brought untold damage to the German people and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union won the victory in an economically backward country with a weak industry and backward agriculture. As a result of the capitalist encirclement, the transformation of this state into a progressive industrial and agrarian state became a question of life or death for the first Socialist state in the world. The Soviet Union had to master this task of overcoming the industrial and agricultural backlog through its own efforts in an inimical environment and in a short time. This was only possible by overcoming great difficulties and necessitated the creation of a strong centralized apparatus.

However, the creation of a strong centralized apparatus brings about the great danger of bureaucratism and the weakening of initiative on the lower levels. It cannot be denied that this fact made it easier for Stalin--who had gained great merits in the history of the CPSU and especially in carrying out Lenin's general plan for the construction of Socialism in the country--to increase his personal power. He believed that acts which led to the glorification of his person and to the broadening of his personal power were in the interest of the Soviet state and the Soviet people.

Some comrades and Social Democrats ask why the other members of the CPSU leadership did not correct Stalin's mistakes any sooner. In the past, and especially after Lenin's death, Stalin acquired great merits in carrying out the general principles established by Lenin against Trotskyites and Bucharin followers. Stalin was doubtlessly one of the strongest Marxists. Had the CPSU followed the way suggested by the Trotskyites and rightists, this would have led to the liquidation of the workers and peasants power in the Soviet Union and to the restoration of capitalism. It is not difficult to imagine today the course of the Second World War and the attack of the Hitler fascists against the Soviet Union had not the Soviet Union built up a powerful heavy industry in accordance with the general party line, and had it not collectivized agriculture, but according to the plans of the rightists had instead given priority to the development of the consumer-goods industry.

In that case, the Soviet Union would not have had the defense strength with which it could meet the fascist attack and finally smash it.

According to the reports of the leading comrades of the CPSU, the serious mistakes did not begin to show until after the 17th Party Congress of the CPSU. This, however, was at a time when the international situation became extremely critical, when the German fascists and Japanese imperialists openly propagated the attack against the Soviet Union, when the British and French imperialists tried to orient the German, Italian, and Japanese imperialists toward the Soviet Union in their demand for a new distribution of the world and attempted to settle the differences in the imperialist camp at the expense of the Soviet Union.

Considering Stalin's **great** authority, the attempt to correct his errors and mistakes already at that time doubtlessly would have led to serious differences and to a serious weakening of the Soviet Union's power and authority. Such a situation might have become a grave danger to the existence of the Soviet Union before and during the Second World War. This also explains the difficult situation in which the other leaders of the CPSU found themselves at that time and until Stalin's death.

Immediately after Stalin's death, the leadership of the CPSU began correcting his mistakes, condemning the cult of the individual and revoking arbitrary measures taken by Stalin. The leadership of the CPSU finally openly criticized Stalin's mistakes at the 20th Party Congress, disregarding the fact that this criticism might be used against the Soviet Union by the supporters of the capitalist society. This open criticism also warrants a thorough abolition of all mistakes committed and proves the intention of preventing a repetition of such mistakes in the future.

We deny representatives of the capitalist society the right to express hypocritical indignation about Stalin's arbitrary actions for having caused much bloodshed and tears among the working masses. They (the representatives of the capitalist society--Ed.) unscrupulously destroyed the life of a whole city by dropping an atom bomb, they unscrupulously prepare a new atom war, they cause an infinite number of deaths in order to keep up the colonial system in Africa and Asia, they are responsible for the crimes of Hitler fascism, and they participated in such crimes. The uncovering of the causes which led to such mistakes and which made arbitrary actions possible, as well as their prevention in the future, are a matter for the workers movement exclusively.

If we are asked why leading German Communists did not any sooner realize the gross mistakes made under Stalin's reign, we have to declare: We had no reason to doubt the necessity for the severest measures against the imperialist agencies, after we ourselves experienced the furious and criminal attacks of the reaction at the German workers movement and our party.

We had no reason to doubt that the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann, Rudolf Breitscheid,

and tens of thousands of other German antifascists would do everything in their power to organize in the Soviet Union, too, the work of enemies of the party, of spies and murderers. This is actually what happened, and it is still going on today on German territory. To this end, agents organizations were set up in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, which plan the murders of Social Democrats and Communists (see the murder list of the BDJ) and which send agents, spies, and diversionists to the GDR in order to disturb the peaceful construction of the German Democratic Republic through acts of sabotage, arson, poison, and acts of violence, as the fascist riots of June 17, 1953.

To oppose this was and is at any time the duty of the Socialist state. If in doing so the justified and necessary defense against imperialist crimes against the Soviet state was transgressed in the Soviet Union, and if the security organs committed illegal acts against and infringed on innocent persons, we condemn these events as much as the other Communists do. However, those who themselves did and still do everything in their power to disturb the peaceful Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and in other countries have the least right to complain about it. Whoever wants to know the root of evil in today's world must realize that capitalism is the source of all evil and of all crimes of our time. Socialism, however, is the source of hope for humanity. Socialism shows humanity the way to liberation from the curse of exploitation, national suppression, and war. Herein lies the world-historic importance of the victory of the workers and peasants, first in the Soviet Union and now also in the People's Democracies, from the German Democratic Republic to People's China.

The cannon kings of the Rhine and Ruhr hate Socialism not because of possible mistakes but because of its victorious strength, because of the liberal and progressive spirit which the Socialist theory and practice increasingly arouse in the hearts of the West German workers. It is this spirit which the imperialists, these deadly enemies of the working class and of humanity, want to extinguish. That is why they are now crying that a "genuine change" must not be confined to eradicating Stalin's mistakes, but that we must also turn away from Marx, Engels, and Lenin. How could the workers ever turn away from the idea of their liberation, after it has already been victorious on one-third of the

earth! How could humanity part with the idea of a future truly worthy of human beings, when this is already being put into living practice by a billion people between the Elbe River and the Pacific Ocean!

The 20th Party Congress of the CPSU has given all nations a new great perspective. The imperialists will not be able to obscure the great fact of the construction of Socialism and of the further economic and cultural progress of the Soviet Union under the Sixth Five Year Plan. The 20th Party Congress of the CPSU has shown the nations that war is no longer inevitable but rather, that they have the power to prevent another war. It has solved new important problems in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Concerning the question of the form of transition to Socialism, it was proved that the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the coming into existence of a world camp of Socialism in the capitalist countries has created the possibility of carrying out the transition to Socialism in a peaceful and parliamentary way.

The example of the victory of the cause of the workers and peasants and of the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union is today--as regard the form--no longer the only model for the victory of Socialism in other countries. For this reason, it is stated in the declaration concerning the relations between the Federation of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that both sides take the point of view that Socialism develops differently in different countries and under different conditions, and that the fact that Socialism develops in many ways contributes to its strengthening. They start from the fact that all tendencies to force their opinion regarding the definition of ways and forms of Socialist development (on others--Ed.) are alien to both sides. They agree that the aforementioned cooperation must be based on complete voluntariness and equality of rights, on friendly criticism, and on the comradely character of the exchange of opinions in the disputed questions between our parties."

For the Communist Party of Germany, too, consequences result from the change in the world situation, from the fact that the Soviet Union no longer is the only Socialist country but that Socialism has gone beyond one country and has been victorious in a number of countries. The fact that Germany

is split and that there exist two German states certainly makes our situation different from that of other countries. As long as the Western occupation forces and the ruling circles of the Federal Republic stick to the idea that a reunified Germany must be included in NATO, the military bloc system of the United States, as long as these circles refuse to acknowledge that the reunification of Germany is a matter for the Germans themselves and that therefore negotiations between the governments and parliaments of the two German states are necessary, the reunification of Germany will be impossible.

This means, however, that the two German states will continue to develop in different directions, since conditions in these two German states are becoming increasingly different. In the German Democratic Republic, Socialism is being built up. It is in the interest of the entire German working class that the construction achievements in the GDR prove to the entire German people the superiority of the Socialist economic system over the capitalist system.

The Federal Republic, on the other hand, is a monopolist capitalist country, in which the German militarists are trying to consolidate and enlarge their position through the militarization of West Germany. Without doubt, the construction of Socialism in the GDR is carried out not without difficulties and mistakes. How could this be different in view of the especially hard conditions of Germany's partition, under which the workers and peasants in the GDR have to master the management of economy and state. However, all the difficulties and mistakes that have occurred in the GDR and will yet be made in the future are difficulties in development, which in the process of the fulfillment of the economic plans and the full unfolding of democratic life will be overcome. Therefore, the future belongs to the development of the GDR.

The KPD and SED separated organizationally already in January 1949. The KPD agrees with its sister party, the SED, in questions concerning Germany as a whole, for instance that Germany must be united on a democratic and peaceful basis, that reunification is possible only through negotiations between the governments and parliaments of the two German states, and that the achievements of the German Democratic Republic must be preserved.

Since, however, the development of the two German states is basically different, conditions for the work of both parties are becoming increasingly different, and in many questions of policy the two parties become also increasingly different.

The policy of the KPD is determined exclusively by its special position in the Federal Republic. As far as the KPD is concerned, it is striving for a democratic change of the situation in the Federal Republic, the unity of action of the working class, as well as the cooperation of all antimilitaristic forces in the interest of peace and security in Europe as well as for the peaceful solution of the German question.

For this purpose, it submitted to the working class and to the entire population at the 23rd and 24th assembly of the party executive suggestions which it desires to develop further and to implement together with all positive forces of the people.

If functionaries of the party find fault with the fact that they were not informed in time by the party leadership of the serious mistakes and the arbitrary actions committed by Stalin, so that the opponents were given a chance to surprise the party with their publications, such criticism is in principle justified. The secretariat of the party executive and the first secretaries of the Land party groups were fully informed on the entire course of the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU. The principle questions of Stalin's errors and gross mistakes were extensively exposed and discussed in the presence of many functionaries of the party. However, the secretariat of the party executive and the leading functionaries must state self-critically that they did not make sufficient efforts to bring about the full unfolding of the decision within the party and to fully clarify for our members and functionaries all problems of the 20th Party Congress, including questions connected with the cult of the individual and Stalin's abuse of power.

The attempts of the enemies of the working class to revive anti-Communist agitation and to use the necessary correction of Stalin's mistakes and errors against the Communist Party will consolidate our party even more. All speculations that this may create insecurity in our party

are bound to fail, as they did in the past. The Communists will openly discuss all questions in their party units and executive boards and will remove all differences of opinion and obscurities in free discussion. What we need in our party is open discussion in order to clarify things this way and to bring about unity of action. In this manner, the efforts of elements inimical to the party--whose policy has long since gone bankrupt--to reach new influence will hopelessly fail.

Clarity about basic questions of our policy, the maintenance of unity and solidarity of our party are also the indispensable prerequisites for strengthening our enlightenment work among the masses, for establishing community of action between Social Democrats and Communists, and for developing a broad popular movement against militarization and for peace, unity, and democracy. In view of our position and our task in the Federal Republic, we must decide on the forms of our party work, we must arouse the initiative on the lower levels, we must overcome the dangers of bureaucratic rigidity and we must strengthen our influence on the masses in order to solve the problems of freedom for the working people and of social justice.

Christ und Welt, 14 June, excerpt

Khrushchev speaks exclusively of the bloody injustice done to the members of the Communist Party by mass-murderer Stalin. There is not a single reference, not even an aside, to the infinite suffering inflicted upon the Russian people as a whole during the Stalin era. Not a single sentence mentions, for instance, that millions died of hunger as the victims of the precipitate collectivization of agriculture. The concentration camps in which, after all, not only some ten thousand Communists are vegetating, but millions of people, are also completely skipped in his speech.

At one point Khrushchev takes exception to Stalin's having removed complete ethnic communities from the Caucasus during the war. However, he calls this an extraordinary deed mainly because all comrades and Komsomol members of those groups had to go along with that amorphous move into exile.

A superficial reading of his speech might lead to the wrong conclusion that Khrushchev is attacking dictatorship as such. Far from it! All 24 columns deal exclusively with an internal party strife, i.e., with the fact that Stalin turned into a sinister despot in the eyes of the Communists themselves.

Khrushchev is and remains a Stalinist, as far as his view on the events up to the 17th Party Congress (1934) is concerned. He explicitly approves of the elimination of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Bukharin. He says, to be sure, that murder and torture would not have been necessary to accomplish it. Yet here lies the real reason why his list of Stalin's mass-murders remains so incomplete. Indeed, 7,679 Communists murdered by Stalin have been exonerated (most of them posthumously), but there are evidently groups within the party and the army which will not be exonerated. As far as those groups are concerned, only Stalin's method, not his principle, has been condemned. Thus, Khrushchev speaks as the head of a victorious faction within the party, the Tito faction, as it were, which finally has won the upper hand against Zhdanov. The speech states explicitly that the struggle against the Trotskyites and Bukharinites was necessary because both deviations "would have led to a renewal of capitalism or to a surrender to the world-bourgeoisie." Here Khrushchev is even using orthodox Stalinist terminology.

At one point, Khrushchev comes very close to the truth when he says that the invention of the concept "enemy of the people" was at the source of all the trouble. This concept, he says, implied automatically that ideological errors of persons arrested needed no longer be proved. A person exposed as an enemy of the people must be liquidated automatically.

Reviewing Khrushchev's endeavor to answer the question why the members of the Politburo did not prevent Stalin from committing his crimes, Wirsing continues as follows:

Khrushchev said that members of the Politburo had given active support to Stalin because he was one of the "strongest Marxists and his logic and strength had influenced the cadre of the whole party." And, finally, it had been Stalin who had originally held up the banner of Leninism against rightist and leftist deviationists.

No word reveals any insight into the underlying causes which had to result in terror. Khrushchev is satisfied with the superficial explanation that all this was part and parcel of the personality of Stalin. The rest of the world, however, is not satisfied with that explanation. After reading the secret speech, we know that an indescribable corruption of all concepts of law and injustice must have taken place in the USSR within the last 30 years. Can that be made undone by the pen-stroke of a secret speech?

However often Khrushchev calls Stalin a brutal murderer, we still have nothing else but a rebellion of sons against their father, and that goes to say a family affair. Of course, the shock caused even in the tiniest Siberian village by the downfall of the super-size monument Stalin is likely to have unfathomable consequences. However, Khrushchev is trying to destroy only half of the monument, as it were. The feet of the despot, resting on a pedestal erected by Lenin, remain. This fact it is which, more than the disclosure of all the cruelties of the sinister Georgian, must concern us. Not only with regard to Stalin, but more so with respect to Khrushchev, is this secret speech a deeply disquieting document.

AUSTRIA

Weg Und Ziel, (Communist) July/August Issue (as broadcast by radio)

Seldom has an event stirred public opinion and, above all, the workers movement as much as the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Even though--as with any big historical event--the actual and real proportions of the problems become clearer with the passage of time, the phenomena characterized by the term "cult of personality" are still in the center of questions, thoughts, and concern.

Since the moment when we found out that injustice could happen in a Socialist state, that Socialist legality was violated, and that offenses were possible which are contrary to the principles of Socialism, all this has been a burning wound in our breast. In view of the superhuman achievements and efforts in the construction of Socialism, we overlooked too easily that Socialism is being constructed by human beings, and that with insufficient control human weakness can cause harmful political effects. Socialism is not an automatic guarantee for kindness and justice, but only the basis on which justice can be achieved and secured in a fighting effort.

One could say now--and occasionally this is being said and written--that these were the mistakes of a brother party, that these were, after all, not our mistakes. However, we are not satisfied with this point of view. We declare openly that we also do not understand those Socialists whose sleep is not disturbed by the fact that a Socialist government permits the slaughtering in Algeria of human beings who want nothing but freedom for their country. We cannot let it suffice to tell those "philantropists" who would sprinkle pepper into our wounds to devote their efforts to fighting for the rehabilitation of the Rosenbergs. For indeed, the witnesses for the prosecution against the couple turned out to be police informers, and no atomic scientist still believes the lie that the Soviet Union needed reports from the Rosenbergs for the production of atomic bombs.

However, the longing for Socialism is so closely linked with the working people's love of justice that the depravity of imperialist regimes cannot be a consolation for the fact that in the Socialist state the gravest injustice could

happen to innocent people. The only thing which gives us strength and security is the fact that the errors were recognized, that the offenses became known and were openly proclaimed. Open self-criticism, the criticism of the cult of personality, and the firm measures for a democratic control of the state security service are the greatest possible guarantee against a repetition of such things. This is the attitude reflected in the words of Karl Marx in "The 18th of Brumaire" that proletarian revolutions are subject to persistent self-criticism, that they fall back constantly on that which has been seemingly accomplished, in order always to make a new beginning after having denounced thoroughly and severely all half-measures, weaknesses, and wretchedness inherent in their experience.

Self-criticism is an essential characteristic of proletarian revolutions and proletarian revolutionaries. By saying that errors and offenses were committed it is made clear that they were not necessary and could have been prevented. However, simply to answer the question, "how was this possible?" with "cult of personality" would amount to turning this idea into a new cliché. For even if the excessive power of a single person furthered arbitrary decisions, and consequently the personal weaknesses of an individual had grave results, the cult of personality cannot be attributed to one person alone.

Here one must consider the development as a whole, which made possible the cult of personality and its effects. One must consider the struggle of life and death which the Socialist state had to wage for its existence, encircled by capitalist countries, confronted with the enormous task to turn a backward agricultural country into a modern industrial country out of its own power.

This was a time in which iron discipline was an absolute necessity for the change and defense of the country. This also made possible the expansion of the state security service and its detachment from democratic control.

To present matters in such a manner as if there had never been any imperialist saboteurs and spies, as if there had been no constant threat of war against the Soviet Union, as if the achievement of Socialist construction had not been the basic problem of the international workers' movement, would mean to agree with those who consider the errors and

offenses characteristic of the development, who do not consider the errors in carrying out the "general line" but consider the general line itself as an error.

However, the decisive thing, the "general line," the great political concept, was correct. It led to the construction of the Socialist state, to the destruction of fascism, to the establishment of the workers' might on a quarter of the Globe. This would probably have been possible in an easier manner and with less sacrifices. It is bitter for us to discover that Socialist legality could be violated, but it would be foolish to overlook the fact that these offenses happened in the course of the greatest revolution in the history of mankind.

Particularly, the criticism of the cult of personality has reminded us again that great revolutions are not the work of particular individuals but, above all, the result of the working people and the broad masses who overthrew the power of capital, established Socialism, and took over the administration of their state and their economy. The sudden progress from the pine torch to modern power installations, from illiteracy to extensive scientific training was the result of the participation of millions in the leadership of the state, their fatherland. Grave errors reduced the possibilities of Socialist democracy but could not cancel them, because they did not cancel Socialism. Had it been otherwise, would this enthusiasm have been possible, this drama of Socialist construction, this vigor of Socialist patriotism? Has any other state ever found the strength to achieve such victories after such military defeats?

To try to explain the errors does not mean to excuse or belittle them. The revolution is not a delicate work of art, said Mao Tse-tung once. It was so the least where it was victorious first, where the first state was established without and against the capitalists in a world of capitalist states.

In the course of a great change in the distribution of power in the world, new paths toward Socialism have become possible, easier paths but not easy ones, for the exploiters will never voluntarily give up their profitable rule. The fact that new possibilities have appeared is, above all, due to the existence and development of the first Socialist country, in the history of which errors were committed but the policy of which was principally correct, because it was historically right.

In the discussion on the problems posed by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the question arose whether the Communists will not have to reassess their position toward the Soviet Union. It was said that the events have shown that one cannot simply and blindly trust the Soviet Union. The proof: Yugoslavia, where we came into an awkward situation as a result of our blind trust in the policy of the Soviet Communists.

No Communist and no Communist Party is freed of the necessity of independent and critical thinking. We are not at all obliged to defend each speech and each article from the Soviet Union and each measure of the Soviet authorities if we are not convinced of their correctness. The leadership of a Socialist state, too, can make mistakes, and even though the collective leadership considerably reduces the possibility of errors, it also is not infallible. However, for any revolutionary workers' party it remains a matter of course not to be neutral in the international class struggle and to demonstrate its unswerving solidarity with all revolutionary forces, and of course also with those who have already overthrown the power of capital in their country.

It is also a matter of course for us that the Socialist state, in which this happened the first time, is considered the great source of power in the struggle of the workers for the victory of Socialism all over the world. It is also clear to us that a country, in which there can be no groups and classes to profit from war and to be interested in war, has always pursued a policy of peace and will continue to carry out this policy. Our ties with Socialist construction and the Socialist peace policy are therefore unconditional, not because we trust the Soviet Union blindly, but because we consider it a Socialist state and a Socialist power of peace.

Certainly, we have participated in a grave error as regards the attitude toward and the estimate of Yugoslavia committed by the Soviet Communists, but not because of blind trust. The criticism directed against the Yugoslav Communists by the Communist Parties of the Information Bureau in 1948 appeared correct and justified to us on the basis of the available material, also on the basis of Yugoslav material. The decision of the Information Bureau one year later, the slandering of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communists as fascists, took place on the basis of material

provided by the Soviet state security service, which we did not know about. Not knowing these facts, should we have described the resolution as incorrect at that time, in opposition to all Communist Parties? We would have scarcely achieved more than the splitting of our own party. Thus, we committed a grave error together with the Communist Parties and with the Soviet Communists, an error which we are now admitting along with the other Communist Parties.

We do not think that the chief lesson to be drawn from this should be "caution" toward the party of the Soviet Union. The open self-criticism of the Soviet Communists, regardless of prestige and enemy propaganda, is for us another reason for trusting them. We must be more critical and more independent in our assessments than up to now, but we must also maintain unswerving class solidarity in the same manner as up to now.

The self-critical examination of the past, the open admission of mistakes and error makes it easier to meet the great task with which the workers' movement is confronted: to bring about a rapprochement of Socialists and Communists in order to utilize the full potential of the workers movement for the vital interests of the working people, for peace, and for Socialism. The Communist movement is shedding certain rigid forms and formulas, parts of an armor which were fashioned in a difficult struggle but which in the course of time hampered our own mobility--and hampered not only the blow of the enemy but also the touch of a friend.

Consider for instance the certainly not incorrect formula of the "two camps" which has now become inadequate and does not take into consideration the complexity of world politics. The alternative of neutrality has offered also bourgeois states a chance to draft away from the American grip and to expand the "zone of peace." In the theoretical, scientific and cultural fields, various views are being reassessed and critically considered in an atmosphere of discussion. Of course, the discussion is carried out on the basis of scientific Socialism, of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party is a fighting group of people with the same ideas, based on a specific ideology. The free discussion within the Communist movement does not mean that one can voice views which are contrary to this ideology.

The self-criticism of the Communist movement makes easier the rapprochement of Socialists and Communists, and there is no doubt that this rapprochement would acquire a rapid pace if the leaderships of the Socialist Parties would show the same self-critical attitude toward their policy and toward their past. It would be erroneous, however, to attribute the increased possibilities of united action of Socialists and Communists only or particularly to the self-criticism at the 20th Party Congress. As far as the Congress is concerned, the decisions made there, which were derived from sociological development--that war can be avoided, and that the path toward Socialism must not necessarily lead via civil war--have contributed to removing anti-Communist prejudices, prejudices such as "the Communists are speculating on a war, they are unconditionally in favor of force," etc., which appeared in the course of years of anti-Communist slander and which hampered the rapprochement of Socialists and Communists.

Above all, the entire development of world politics has made the rapprochement of Socialists and Communists easier. The rigid fronts of the Cold War have begun to crumble, and groupings which for years defended the American policy have detached themselves from American control. This includes bourgeois groups as well as Socialist Party leaderships.

The danger of German rearmament has increased the recognition among many Socialist leaders in West European countries that it is necessary to come to an understanding with the countries of the East, particularly with the Soviet Union. The possibility of agreement between the Socialist and Communist Parties is within reach in several countries.

Of course, in order to make this a reality much effort is still necessary. In the leaderships of the Socialist Parties there are still powerful politicians who are opposed to any joint action with the Communists and in some cases against any detente with the Soviet Union. The Communists cannot quit criticizing such Socialist leaders in general, they cannot give up the criticism of views and methods which are contrary to the principles of their ideology and the workers' movement.

Few parties have as much experience in the policy of a Popular Front as the Communists of France. However, the

French Communists refused to express confidence in the Socialist Government as regards the Algerian problem, they could not approve of it without violating the most elementary principles of proletarian internationalism. The greatest possible flexibility in the efforts to bring about action unity of Socialists and Communists can be based only on firm adherence to the principles, including the conviction that the workers of any country need a strong Communist Party as a boosting force in the interest of workers' unity.

What the Communists found out in connection with the criticism of the cult of personality at the 20th Party Congress has caused uneasiness and confusion among their ranks. This was due to the nature of the information and to the form in which it was revealed. However, the stirring discussions and examinations and the clarifying result to which they will lead will initiate a new era in which the attraction and popularity of the Communist movement among the masses will lead to new great successes of the international working class.

Volksstimme, 26 June (as broadcast by radio)

The discussions and results of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party have started wide discussions in the entire Communist world movement. For months, the Communists have been discussing not only the (startling?) facts which the 20th Party Congress revealed about the effects of the cult of the individual but are also dealing with the new views worked out by the Party Congress regarding the possibility of preventing wars, the possibility of new roads to Socialism, workers' unity, and many other principles of the workers' movement. A wide, useful, and creative discussion is being held in the Communist Parties of all countries.

The Austrian Communists also, immediately after the 20th Party Congress, began discussions on these problems, but the intensity of the election campaign led to a necessary interruption of the discussions and to a concentration of all the party strength on the election campaign. Only a few days after May 13, however, the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party held a meeting which discussed the election outcome, reviewed the party's attitude in the

election struggle, and drew conclusions for the continuation of the struggle and work of the party.

It was self-understood that this discussion, introduced by a report by party chairman Koplenig, became the beginning of a conscientious reviewing of the policy of our party, and that the members of the Central Committee, in discussing the new tasks of the party, tried to draw the necessary conclusions for the struggle of the Austrian workers from the results of the 20th CPSU Congress. The Central Committee of the KPO decided immediately to continue the discussions begun at the meeting in the local party organizations and to summarize the results of the discussions of party members and officials at a new meeting of the Central Committee.

In addition, the Central Committee decided to prepare a discussion on the possibility of a peaceful and parliamentary course of Austria on her road to Socialism within our party and within the entire working class. For weeks now, Communists all over Austria have been discussing all problems of their work and policy in meetings of party members, officials, or activists. Thousands of Communists are voicing their views and are fervently discussing the entire policy of the party. Many problems of our policy are being reviewed, weaknesses and mistakes are being admitted, and many valuable suggestions for the further struggle of our party are being made.

The discussions reveal the deep love for the party and the efforts made to work out the new policy of our party. Sometimes, also, harsh language is used, and not everything said is quite correct, but this could not be otherwise and is not harmful as long as this criticism is guided by the will to help the party. It is the very essence of the discussions that the positive and correct views will assert themselves finally and lead to an improvement of the work.

Naturally, the problems of the 20th Party Congress play a decisive role in the discussions of the Austrian Communists. They discuss with passion and deep sincerity the effects and results of the cult of the individual and are searching for the cause which led to such serious errors in a Socialist country. This problem was not completely clarified at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. We Austrian Communists are of the opinion that the measures already taken before the 20th Party Congress and decided upon at the Party Congress must be continued so that permanent and firm guarantees are established that such developments alien to the very spirit of Socialism will be prevented in the future.

In view of the fact that unconfirmed details of Comrade Khrushchev's report at the 20th Party Congress on the consequences of the cult of the individual were published in the press of our opponents, the Politburo of the Austrian Communist Party's Central Committee some time ago requested the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to place this document at the disposal of our party. We Austrian Communists voice the belief that questions of such big international importance must be treated in a manner which takes into account the conditions under which the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are waging their struggle.

The enemies of the workers' movement are hoping to capitalize on the serious discussions conducted by Communists all over the world. These are empty hopes. By means of discussions, we Communists are overcoming mistakes and shortcomings in our work. With new methods, we will establish better relations with the Socialists and fight more successfully for the establishment of workers' unity, and thus for the cause of the workers' movement and the victory of Socialism.

Arbeiter-Zeitung (Socialist), 27 Jun 56

As the last party still clinging to Moscow's apron strings, the Austrian Communist Party has now finally "taken a stand" on the results of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, though in a somewhat weary and vexed way. The Oesterreichische Volksstimme yesterday reported on the "course of the discussions" which allegedly took place at party meetings and conferences. What was discussed and what the result was, can however not be found in the report.

It is very clear, however, that Moscow deemed it superfluous to even send their insignificant Austrian comrades the text of Khrushchev's speech which is already known to the whole world. But even had they received a copy, they would not have dared offer an opinion without special orders. At the most, they would venture to quote Togliatti once more.

There they stand with their huge new printing plant, which publishes nothing but the diminutive issues of their press, and fear bankruptcy. Can they say anything? How can they know whether the masters of today will not be relieved by others already tomorrow? Whether or not a new change of course will come about which will force the Communists to swallow the lies of today just as they must now choke down the lies of yesterday?

That is why they are just stammering a few words against the "cult of personality" and have dared only once to speak about the "grave mistakes" in Russia. But -- in the whole Volksstimme article, Stalin's name does not appear once! One can never know...

But they cannot get away with it that easily! Did not the Austrian Communists again and again spread Stalin's name over all their press as the "greatest person of our epoch" -- yes or no?

It is true or not that on the day after Stalin's death, when Arbeiter-Zeitung, in the first paragraph of its editorial, stated that he was not a great man, they assailed us with a tremendous cry of rage? Is it true or not that they not only accepted all Stalin's infamous acts but praised them as the brilliant accomplishments of the Great Brother and even also of Socialism, whether they were the blood orgies of the great "Chistka" or the gagging of art and science, whether the insulting tirades against Tito or the arrest of the Jewish doctors? And is it true or not that 25 years ago the same

Koplenig headed the Communist Party of Austria as he does today? Is it true or not that the same little bureaucrats, who reveled in the "cult of personality" for their whole lives, are now acting as though this had all never existed? They did not know anything? They have just now been informed of the true nature of Stalinism? We do not believe that even the members of the Communist Party are so stupid as to believe that. Can the few idealists, who doubtlessly still exist among the Communist laborers and clerks, bear to continue languishing away under such conditions?

SPAIN

New York Times
July 10 1956

FRANCO DECLARES SOVIET PERIL RISES

Anti-Stalin Drive Is Shift in
Tactics, Not Aim, Letter
to Virginia Editor Says

WINCHESTER, Va., July 9
(AP) — Generalissimo Francisco Franco, Spanish Chief of State, warned today that the new Soviet policy constituted a "greater danger over a long period of time."

The downgrading of Stalin "does not represent any change in objectives," he said in a letter to Harry F. Byrd Jr., editor and publisher of The Winchester Star and The Harrisonburg Daily News-Record.

The anti-Stalin campaign, General Franco added, is just "a variation in tactical strategy to better attain these objectives."

Mr. Byrd, who two years ago had had a lengthy interview with the Spanish leader in Madrid, had recently sought his appraisal of the Soviet Union's "new look." The Franco letter appeared with a copyright article in today's issues of the two Virginia newspapers.

Text of the Letter

The text of the letter follows:
(Translation from the Spanish.)

El Pardo Palace,
June 25, 1956.

The Hon. Harry F. Byrd Jr.

Dear Friend:

I received your kind letter of April 30, in which you asked me for my opinion on the new anti-Stalin attitude which has been proclaimed by the leaders of the Kremlin. It is not difficult to see through their tactic: I believe, like yourself, that the present expression of Soviet policy does not represent any change in the objectives pursued, but rather a variation in tactical strategy to better attain these objectives; having

tried some procedures, they put others into action which they judge more appropriate. The near future will confirm this. In any form, it constitutes a clear expression of the dynamism and agility of their policy.

The very grave accusations of Khrushchev (Nikita S. Khrushchev, Soviet Communist party chief) and the attendant publicity results from a complicated and difficult crisis in the Soviet policy. What else could justify permitting this very grave impact, which adversely affects the internal and external prestige of communism? They could have effected the change and justified what they call a new collective course as the crowning of some labor, as the end of one period and the beginning of another, without having to resort to making these extremely grave accusations public, and creating a havoc which adversely affects communism in general and which has been turned against them as accomplices and collaborators. When they must defend themselves in this fashion, it is because somebody is attacking and attacking strongly.

Army's Role Discussed

It has been known for some time that the Communist leaders and the principal figures of the Communist party, like the generals and military leaders, felt themselves under the constant menace of Stalinist terrorism, with its periodic purges and shots in the back without any possible defense against them. Stalin's death brought them together with the aim of freeing themselves from this terror. In the process, the Army had to play a principal role. This explains its part in the new situation.

From the point of view of Communist foreign policy, the growing repudiation of subservience by the Communist parties of other nations to Moscow and Soviet imperialism made advisable rectification of a strategy which jeopardized the attainment of Communist expansion abroad. It became necessary to place the blame on someone, to give a semblance of sincerity to the

rectification. The immediate reconciliation with Tito [President Tito of Yugoslavia] demonstrates this.

Policy 'Bad for West'

In the light of the foregoing, we must conclude that the change in tactics obeys internal needs of communism, and we must deduce, as a result, that what they consider good must necessarily be bad for the West. There are no other reasons which could justify [such] fundamental changes in a policy which has expanded their frontiers to unprecedented limits and which has permitted

them to occupy one of the foremost places in the community of nations.

What is evident is that Russia today needs time and space to consolidate its conquests and its new internal situations, and it is to this that the new policy responds: to show themselves in sheep's clothing, attract attention and create problems in other areas, which, by permitting them to consolidate their situation, also permits them to assimilate what they have attained so far. Time is a powerful ally for them.

In brief: The letting up of the moment constitutes a greater danger over a long period of time. I am sure that you, who know Russia and the unchanging aims of Communist policy, will not be far from this point of view.

Very cordially yours,

F. FRANCO.

BELGIUM

Le Drapeau Rouge, Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, 26 June

Though not in possession of the official version of the speech by Comrade Khrushchev criticizing Stalin, the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, at a meeting in Brussels on 23-24 June, is of the opinion that several points in it call for the following statements:

1. The Central Committee believes that, despite its painful aspects, the discussion opened by the 20th Congress of the CPSU in socialist countries and in communist and progressive circles all over the world contains elements of great interest to all those who fight for the triumph of peace and of socialism.

Under these circumstances, the Central Committee is aware of the important contribution to the debate in progress made by the recent statements of a number of party brothers and, in particular, by Comrade Togliatti, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party.

He expresses the hope that the labor and the democratic press, which published the complete text of the documents emanating from the US Department of State, will demonstrate their objectivity by publishing likewise all other documents on the disputed subject.

2. The Central Committee considers intolerable the violations of revolutionary legality and of the rules of socialist democracy committed in the USSR.

The implacable hatred of the capitalist world for the Communist Party of the USSR, which was first to lead its people to a definite victory over capitalism, explains, though it does not condone, the atmosphere of exaggerated distrust in which the grave offenses were made possible.

3. The Central Committee admits that the Belgian Communist Party erred when, in the ardor of its fight in defense of the country of socialism, it did not pay enough attention to the possibility of avoidable excesses which have now been denounced.

It is happy to see the Communists of the USSR and of the people's democracies frankly admit their errors.

It is convinced that a serious search for the origin of these errors will strengthen the measures already taken to prevent a repetition.

The Central Committee believes that the courageous denunciation of these errors enhances the prestige of the socialist countries among the Belgian workers and militant socialists who today in ever growing numbers acknowledge the triumph and the superiority of the socialist system of production and its great contribution to the good fortune of mankind.

In the course of events in the socialist world the Central committee recognizes important elements of a nature to promote the unity of action which is indispensable to Belgian workers in the struggle against capitalism and for the maintenance of peace and the development of social progress.

4. The Central Committee sees in the brilliant victories won in the socialist countries in the economic, social and political fields, and particularly in the triumph of the belief in peaceful coexistence over the machinations against peace,--exalting stepping stones on the victorious road of mankind towards socialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!
Long live the unity of Belgian workers based on triumphant Marxism, guarantee of irresistible and rapid progress towards socialism!

SWEDEN

Dagens Nyheter, 19 June

Everything indicates that when Togliatti behaves as he now does, it is primarily in order to prevent a crisis in his own party, and to prevent, as far as possible, the information on Stalin now being published, not in the interests of truth but in Khrushchev and Company's interests, from becoming a weapon directed against the Western European Communist Parties that wallowed in the mud before the despot. East of the Iron Curtain there is no one to remind the present rulers of their revolting paeans of praise to Stalin, or of their equally revolting rage against Tito--and he who is nauseated has nowhere else to go. But in countries where a free opinion exists, the Communists are daily forced to eat their own words, and it is plain to see that the turnabout as concerns Stalin has caused confusion in the Communist ranks, and defection in various quarters. But on the other hand it is hardly necessary to point out that a Communist Party critical of Moscow is a self-contradiction--such parties have never lived long (Yugoslavian Communism expected). Unconditional acceptance of Soviet policies--the day-to-day Soviet policy--has ever since the acceptance by the Third Internationale in 1921 of the infamous "21 Theses" been the first Commandment of the Communist catechism.

The destruction of the Stalin myth, however, has placed the Communist parties of Western Europe in a great dilemma, further aggravated by the honors showered upon the former "Fascist," "murderer of workers," and "Warmonger," Tito in Moscow....

It is, of course, impossible to determine what the consequences will be in the long run of Togliatti's maneuver and how other Western European Communist Parties will react. According to London telegrams, speculation is rife there concerning a more extensive "revolt against Moscow"--which seems a little fantastic. On the other hand, a sensation is constituted by the declaration of the British Communist organ the Daily Worker to the effect that "the Soviet leaders have lost a certain amount of prestige," that the violation of "Communist democracy" in the Soviet Union must be explained better than Khrushchev has done thus far, and that the result of Togliatti's declaration will be that "people will begin to think for themselves"--a point of view which would mean political suicide for a Communist. Khrushchev, with his

speech condemning Stalin, has evidently set a stone rolling which will be hard to stop.

Ny Dag, (Communist) 20 June

The chairman of our Italian brother party, Palmiro Togliatti, with his interview statement on Khrushchev's Stalin speech has caused tremendous perplexity and speculation in the capitalist world. Since we have not yet obtained a copy of the interview in Unita and only have come by miscellaneous rumors concerning its contents through the instrumentality of the clever reporting art of bourgeois news agencies and correspondents, it is premature to make an accurate evaluation of the contents. On the other hand, some evaluation of the statements of our opponents, which have no more basis than the reports mentioned above, can be made.

According to these statements, not until now when he has been pressed by the Socialist leader, Nenni, and because of the supposed election defeat, has Togliatti taken a stand in the matter. To this it can be said that as early as March, Togliatti published a long article, which was reprinted in the entire Swedish Communist press, in which he analyzed Stalin's errors and tyranny and the reasons therefor. The curious thing at that time was that Nenni polemicized against Togliatti and was hostile toward the exposition of Stalin's errors. And then let us add that the figures from the Italian Interior Ministry published last week showed that the Italian Communist Party did not suffer defeat at all, but on the contrary, successfully defended its strong positions and continues to have twice as many adherents as the Socialist Party with whom the Communists are carrying on friendly and successful cooperation.

Another conclusion which the commentators have drawn from the Togliatti interview is that he states that a way to socialism different from the Soviet way should be followed in Italy and that the special conditions in that country should be taken into consideration in this connection. Naturally Togliatti did not suggest this as something novel inasmuch as he had said the same thing a long time previously. Our Swedish party had adopted this point of view as early as the Congress of 1944; it was expressed even more clearly at the 1946 Congress; and it was confirmed in the party program in 1953. The concept was interpreted by the 20th Congress of our Soviet brother party in February of this year, at which time Togliatti also commented on it. Permit us also to add that all the countries which have entered into the way of Socialism since the Second World War have pursued their own ways, which have

taken into consideration the special circumstances which existed in these countries. This would have been impossible, however, if the Soviet people had not built up their socialist order in the way of the Soviets.

But the most malevolent of all is the attempt to portray Togliatti's interview as an admission that our Italian brother party had carried out its policies on "orders from Moscow" -- which Morgon-Tidningen, among others, pretends to believe. In line with this base portrayal, Togliatti thus has now chosen Tito's way and so refuses to "take orders from the Kremlin" any longer. This is a portrayal which befits reactionaries and war provocateurs, but has nothing to do with reality. The Italian Communist Party and all other Communist parties determine their policies themselves with reference to the circumstances in their countries, and allow themselves to be guided by the current interests of their own working people and the historical goals of the working class. There are no international organizations which coordinate the policies of their respective parties with the policies of their brother parties in other countries.

In our opinion it would have been beneficial if Khrushchev's speech had been made public, since this would have forestalled all the versions which have appeared in various capitals this spring and which have been trumpeted forth as the original. Even if this speech may give a somewhat one-sided picture of Stalin's work, since it dwelt mainly on Stalin's weaknesses and the mistakes he committed and does not illuminate the entire situation in which these weaknesses could have their play, either, still the truth, even though it is painful, is better than a silence which leaves room for all kinds of interpretations, caricature, and calumny. We cannot, however, judge what reasons determined that the world still has not received an authorized version of Khrushchev's speech.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Soviet Union have shown the whole world that they have settled accounts with past oppression and errors and in all areas are further developing and deepening the socialist democracy. The internal reorganizing and the external offensive for peaceful coexistence and relaxation of tensions give new fruitful impulses to the international labor movement and clears the way for coordination of the efforts of all progressive forces. Svenska Dagbladet fears that this, as well as the continuing debate on the principles of the collective leadership, will strengthen the Communist movement still more. We are convinced that this will happen.

DENMARK

Social-Demokraten, 13 June, excerpt

Even though the Communist leaders may be able still to deal with the membership as robots, this will be of little use. For, which way are the robots to be turned? Should the lie be stuck to that the leaders did not know what the whole world knew, of the horrors of the Stalin period? Or should it be maintained that everything that happened in the Soviet Union during a 25-year period--mass murder, terror, torture--was acceptable and only to be regarded as expedient methods on the road to paradise? Should the arch enemy, the Social Democrats, be approached with offers of a popular front, or should an attempt be made to return to pure revolutionary Leninism? None of these problems have been solved, and the confusion continues under cover of a pained silence.... For a time, the leaders may save themselves by continued silence. But they are unable to stop the process of dissolution which has set in.

25 June

A close analysis of Khrushchev's speech failed to disclose a single word of criticism of the Soviet system of dictatorship, and that Khrushchev's condemnation applied to Stalin's despotism over the party, not over the people.

It is wishful thinking, according to the editorial, to expect a fundamental change in the system of dictatorship, but the severe shock to the faith in dictatorship will in the long run carry with it consequences, and it is here that the break with Stalinism opens a perspective which the present Soviet leaders had not foreseen.

NORWAY

Arbeiderbladet, 25 June, excerpt

Reidar Larsen has been selected to speak for the Norwegian Communists in the matter of the Stalin downgrading.

This looks simply heroic! A young, unknown man stands forth alone and "bawls out" the mighty leaders, both dead and living, of the Soviet Union. But in reality there is no heroism. Note what has happened. The Italian Communist leader Togliatti spoke first. He said that "the Communist movement needs and desires greater freedom for its own judgment" and that conditions in the Soviet Union "no longer can be an obligatory pattern for other Communist states". The French Communists followed up this criticism. A resolution by the British Communist Party had the same content -- and, what is most important, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, behind the Iron Curtain, follows in Togliatti's footsteps.

The new Communist line may be found in these and other statements. They follow each other in well ordered sequence. First the large ones, then those not so large, then the small ones, and the Norwegian Communist Party brings up the rear.

We may be rather sure that the Kremlin spoke first. No rebellion is involved. The Kremlin has only given new signals, which are evidently being followed, not however, without inner turmoil.

Nevertheless the most important thing now is how the Communists intend to prevent the same horrors being repeated. At present, they have gotten no further than to wonder what the causes of the horrors could have been. The fateful errors must have begun some place, they say, and they urge the Soviet Communists to explain. They are just as confused as people looking for a needle in a haystack.

There is no reason to make the problem so complicated. The explanation is simple. We ask the Communists whether the world has ever seen a dictatorship not guilty of suppression, cruelties, and miscarriages of justice. The tragic part of the new situation is that the Communists condemn the dictator, but not dictatorship. We believe that many Communists understand that dictatorship must lead to suppression. But they are not allowed to state their views.

Friheten, 23 June

A very important debate has begun in the international labor movement. Experiences -- positive and negative -- are being evaluated. Settlement is being made with occurrences contrary to basic principles, in order to prevent their recurrence. Present day perspectives for new victories in the struggle for socialism are being analyzed, and the line for the new forward march being drawn.

The immediate occasion for the debate is what took place at the 20th Congress, CPSU, but it is of greater extent.

Naturally and necessarily, the Communist Party of Norway must take part in the debate -- with a special view to our conditions and problems. We urge the readers of Friheten and Party members to take part in the discussion.

Some people ask what the opinion of the Party is. But in this discussion there is no question of "ready-made stand-points." The bourgeois press, the enemy of socialism, will, now as before, make sensations, and seek to spread their own confusion to others. Our most effective reply will be an open and honest discussion, by means of which we may learn from past experience and from the present situation.

FINLAND

Suomen Sosialidemokraatti, 19 June

When for decades we have become accustomed to the religious echo by the Communist Parties of the entire world of the statements of the Soviet Communist Party headquarters, it is not without reason that the surprising, independent stand of the Italian Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, is described as sensational. The leader of the West's largest Communist Party has pointed his criticism at the Soviet leaders outright, and directed the discussion regarding Communist mistakes along new channels even in his own party. Why were all those evil deeds permitted, and afterwards the blame loaded onto the back of the leader who during his time was treated as a god?

What is important is not necessarily that this is the first time that the expose of the Stalin cult has created discussion but that this is the first time that the discussion comes from the mouth of a well-known Communist leader. It seems that the conferences of Marshal Tito--the rebel who has risen to a position of respect in the Communist camp--and Togliatti, prior to Marshal Tito's ceremonious Moscow trip, have truly directed policies toward change. The strong criticism from the leader of the West's largest Communist Party cannot help but influence the West's smaller Communist Parties into taking a stand even though it doubtless will result in headaches for some of them.

Togliatti's stand was in large part also affected by internal political matters. The Italian Communist Party suffered defeat in the communal elections and it now appears in danger of losing its earlier ally, the Nenni Leftist Socialists. Togliatti has made his decision, and from all appearances, Marshal Tito's counsel has greatly influenced him. As we remember, the Communists have suffered reversals in all elections following the anti-Stalin campaign--this has occurred in Austria as well as the Netherlands. Togliatti's example cannot but be influential. But too much must not be expected from the change. Even during the era of the smile there is reason to recall the story of the Trojan horse. That he who was previously infallible is later under criticism is a cheering sign for the democracies. But it must always be remembered that new words do not change old objectives.

It appears obvious that the present day workers movement, which promotes the highest ideals of every nation and all mankind, is facing a new great progressive era. This has partly resulted from the recent, and still continuing, Soviet expose and criticism of mistakes which at first seemed very painful, but later has been felt as a more liberating, daring and stimulating breath of air throughout the world.

Thus, it is natural that the conclusions of various bourgeois papers (as Helsingin Sanomat and Ilta Sanomat), whose strongest characteristic is that of not taking an independent stand, concerning the Communist "ripping of seams" and "crises" do not reach the heart of the matter. On the other hand, we can be encouraged in that currently the previously mentioned types of papers have seldom been liberal in publicizing and discussing those matters which create healthy broad scope discussions of problems in the present worker's movement.

A result of this type of broad scope deliberation and discussion is the decrease of the suspicion and fear of many honest persons of Socialists and Communists, and toward Socialism and Communism. The impression that Communists are the instigators of some underhanded orders is eliminated and the belief that the present day workers movement promotes the freedom of all working people is strengthened. This type of development creates an even firmer foundation among all nations for a feeling of friendship for the USSR and other Socialist countries and strengthens peace and security between nations.

We have every reason to be thankful for the fact that the Italian Communist Party's well known leader, Palmiro Togliatti, has given a broad scope statement on those matters which we have mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. The Finnish press has had only relatively few small, inaccurate and even erroneous translated and interpreted fragments of Togliatti's statement. But even at that it appears that it arouses significant ideological discussions of those general mistakes which might have affected the progress of the entire international workers movement up to the present time. The initiation of this type of discussion on the international scale will undoubtedly hasten the ideological growth and unity of the workers' movement and will deepen the consciousness that not only is this ideological growth and unity necessary and advantageous to all countries, but also that it awakens the so-called rank-and-file of a broader workers movement to their clear and definite rights and freedoms, which includes the freedom to criticize. This signifies that an organized democracy is developing into that which it should be.

In complete contradiction to the conclusions of the bourgeois press, there is no doubt that Togliatti's statement might be an indication of the beginning of a new and rich progressive era in the present day workers' movement.



NEAR EAST

INDIA

Indian Communist Party Reaction, 13 July, excerpt, (as broadcast by radio)

The facts mentioned in Khrushchev's report reveal that together with great successes in building socialism in the Soviet Union, there also occurred during the latter part of the life of Stalin instances of distortion of Soviet democracy, infringement of Socialist legality by excesses and arbitrary acts and violation of norms of inner Party life.

In view of the seriousness of the mistakes committed and in view of damage caused by them, it was necessary to take resolute measures to rectify the mistakes and undo the damage done.

It was necessary to wage a determined struggle against the cult of personality, a cult alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. By undertaking these tasks, the Soviet Communist Party leadership has rendered great service to the cause of Socialism.

While fully recognizing the negative features and grave defects that developed in Stalin's methods of leadership, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India considers that a one-sided appraisal of his role during the last 20 years of his life, years of mighty development in the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement, caused bewilderment among the masses and can be utilized by enemies of Communism to confuse them.

The Committee, therefore, is of the opinion that an objective assessment of Stalin's life and work in their entirety, Stalin's great achievement and serious shortcomings, is essential for successfully fighting the cult of the individual and for effectively combating the prevailing confusion.

The Central Committee declared it was necessary to undertake a fuller analysis of the causes which led to the arbitrary acts and excesses. It added, "To ascribe all shortcomings and

and arbitrariness to defects of an individual falls short of Marxist-Leninist standards of historical objectivity.

Khrushchev's revelations have been seized upon by imperialists and other enemies of the working people to denounce the Soviet Union and undermine the confidence of the people in the Socialist system.

Enemies of the workers are at pains to make out that the violations of Soviet democracy and excesses committed are inherent in the Soviet system.

There is a serious danger of many honest and progressive elements being influenced by this propaganda, which the Communist Party of India considers it imperative to expose and combat.

It is evident that a system in which such violations and distortions were inherent could not have unleashed the creative energies of hundreds of millions of people on a scale never known before, and have brought about such unprecedented social transformations.

The mistakes and excesses that occurred in the Soviet Union were not due to the principles of Marxism-Leninism or the Soviet system, but to deviations from them in practice.

These deviations occurred against a background of great victories of socialist reconstruction, carried out in an extremely difficult period.

The Committee is confident that the world Communist movement will profit by the experience of the Soviet Union and take effective measures for the defense and extension of democracy in every sphere.

While Socialism has become the common goal of all progressive mankind in our present epoch, each country will however proceed to this goal in its own way.

Free Press Journal, 30 June, excerpts

The Poznan revolt is only the beginning of a revolutionary fight for liberation in Soviet Satellite countries.

The trouble in Poland is almost according to schedule. If "polycentrism", the word alleged to have been coined by Tito to describe the new international Communist relationship, can permit a hitherto subdued Togliatti and a habitually yessing Thorez to assert the right of criticism, it is no wonder that in Poland ideological autonomy has been expressed in much more aggressive terms. The Polish Communist Party has the largest mass of nationalism in its mental make-up of any East European Communist Party.

Since the post mortem struggle against Stalin began, foreign correspondents in Warsaw had often reported Poles talking of a "second revolution." They sense that international and national Communist leadership has been growing at a greater pace in Poland than elsewhere, and the authorities conscious of it have been trying to respond to it.

The Poznan trouble indicates that the rate of liberalization, now that the weight of international compulsion has been removed, is not considered fast enough. It is also significant that the demand for release from party bureaucratic compulsions should start at Poznan, which has the highest proportion of industrial workers in its population. As polycentrism becomes the international pattern of Communism, internally different groups and parties will have to be tolerated, and the industrial workers, who are ideologically given a very high status in society, will claim their right to organize and express their opinion earlier than other groups. The Polish trouble is only the beginning of a vast movement.

AFRICA

Dakar, Afrique Nouvelle, 26 June

The End of a Myth

On 25 February during a secret session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchev presented a report on the cult of personality. This report, which has just been published by the entire world press, is without doubt the most violent condemnation known of Stalin's conduct as head of the Soviet state. The successor of the Russian generalissimo acknowledged particularly that the late little father of the Russian people had eliminated during his lifetime hundreds of early Communists, after having extorted by force from them confessions of imaginary crimes, and that he had massacred tens of thousands of opponents of the Russian Revolution.

Such facts cannot surprise us. We have known them for a long time. One can, however, ask what effect they have on all those who have believed in Marxism. Thus, this regime which was to free man from all alienations has been able to breed the most terrible dictator of all times. And this doctrine, which has always proclaimed the impossibility of a person influencing history, has been able to produce a personality strong enough to impose himself for 30 years on the fatherland of Communism, influencing, said Khrushchev himself, "in a bad way the international labor movement" because he was more concerned with the power of his state than with the happiness of his people.

One understands that the Western Communist parties may have difficulty in admitting such revelations. Would not the acceptance of these revelations as true at the same time strike a terrible blow at so-called scientific socialism and historical materialism?

Must one conclude that Thorez and Togliatti are going to choose the path of a new Titoism? It is not very probable. But they will enjoy henceforth a greater freedom of action.

However, we do not delude ourselves: this evolution corresponds to the present interest of the Soviet Union. As Pineau stated at Washington, the USSR is obliged today

to face duties which exceed its means in Europe as well as Asia, and the USSR begins to understand that it will need time to meet its obligations in China, India and the Near East. As war is no longer imminent, the USSR no longer has the same need to maintain a fifth column in every foreign country.

All the same, nothing has changed in the Soviet conception. At no time did the Khrushchev report have a word of pity for the millions of victims of the dead tyrant. And if the abuse of violence is condemned in it, the principle of its use is not.

One chance remains for the West, however. Time can work for the West if it knows how to utilize the future to promote a policy of aid to underdeveloped countries and of cooperation between peoples. Those who believe in God must in any case employ it: such a policy demands a great love of people and an unconditional respect for the rights of the human being, which it is difficult to exhibit if one cannot see in each being the image of a divine creator.

MOROCCO

Le Courrier du Maroc, by Christian Houillion, 19 June

Francois Mauriac has a new hobby. He aspires to become the Egeria of the Communist Party. It is certainly never too late to do good, and the Christian, bourgeois, and masochistic member of the Academy is opportunely embarking on a quest for new sources of enthusiasm.

Thus, while recalling problems raised by Stalin's condemnation and complaining about the Communists' silence and their attachment to the former dictator of all the Russias, the defects of whom he calls to mind, Mauriac explains to the "young French Communists" why he has adopted their worries: "Don't tell us we are getting involved in what should not concern us. To the contrary, it is of utmost concern to us, because History's conjunctures may perhaps force us once again to take the same road as you do, as in the days of the Spanish War and the Resistance." And, lavish with his advice, Mauriac proclaims, using Tito as an example: "Young French Communists, this is the example which I hold up to you, the man by whom I wish you would be inspired." So, now the young French Communists are provided with a new mentor, an eminent adviser. Thorez and Jacques Duclos no longer have anything to teach their legions; a bourgeois has taken it upon himself to outline Party line!

Now, Mauriac's anti-Stalinism breaks out at the very moment when the French, Italian, and British Communist Parties are in disagreement with Moscow. The language of the Khrushchev report has convinced neither Thorez, Togliatti, nor Harry Pollitt of the dictator's evil-mindedness.

In fact, people from both sides of the fence cannot forget that, under Stalin, Russia made considerable progress since the last Czar; Togliatti has just argued that case in an article which caused a certain amount of comment. And the Westerners know something about Russia's progress! Khrushchev and Bulganin

have received quite a brilliant heritage, and it does not seem honorable for them to insult the memory of a dead man for whom they, however, were once the willing accomplices.

Although recognizing Stalin's errors (what statesman doesn't commit errors), certain Communists refuse to believe that he is the sinister person described by Khrushchev and Mauriac. Furthermore, Togliatti specifies: "It seems more just, in my opinion, to recognize that despite his mistakes, Stalin had the approval of a large part of the nation, and, first of all, that of the leading-group in the government. The error of Stalin's collaborators was in not realizing soon enough that they had let him do everything he pleased, until the day when it was too late to prevent him from doing so without a total upset."

The attack launched by Mauriac is justified even less because he sets himself up as an enemy of the cult of personality, when he himself has kept up a similar cult for many months, having as an idol a political man for whom he is very indulgent.

And, finally, it is unwise to deduce from the Khrushchev report that there will be an extensive upheaval in international Communist strategy. The Communist Parties which are silent will perhaps be brought into line by Khrushchev, until the time when, in a few years, a collaborator of Russia's new Master comes forward and pronounces the anti-Khrushchev indictment. At present, the Russians have kept the same objective in the world as Stalin, and Moscow's recent diplomatic actions are proof of this. Tactics have changed and smiles have been substituted for Molotov's "Nyet," but the outcome leaves no room for doubt; young French Communists probably do not need Mauriac to convince them of the chance for success of the plan perfected a long time ago by Lenin and Stalin. Many "traitors" in Russia have recently been rehabilitated. It is not by attacking Stalin's memory that the Proteus-like member of the Academy will be most likely to "take the road" with his young Communist friends!

Le Courier du Maroc, by Jacques Rouvier, 11 June

The publication of the complete text of the Khrushchev report at Moscow is very interesting. We are familiar with the essential point, namely the condemnation of Stalin. They also tell us that 98 out of 139 members of the Central Committee elected in 1934 were arrested and shot. Nevertheless, a series of questions would normally be posed for Communist parties: first, the acolytes of Stalin who supported him and permitted him to pursue his policy are presently in power; there are then two possibilities, either they approved this policy and profited from it, or they did not approve it and certainly lacked the essential element of the character of a leader. However that may be, the masses first were told that the great majority of the Central Committee are traitors and everyone agreed on this and thanked the brilliant Father of the People. Now one announces that the brilliant Father of the People was a poor madman and everyone is also in agreement. The fact which is certain is that the methods remain but that the men change. Before there was one man; now there are several men.

In the interior of the party rumblings are making themselves heard because there are several rival groups. However that may be, the goals remain the same, but it is also certain that if internal struggles should continue, the external power of Russia would decrease as it was diminished at the time when Stalin carried out his purges and especially when he suppressed his whole general staff.

TUNISIA

Le Petit Matin, 26 June

The problems raised in the French Communist Party by the publication of the Khrushchev report and the denunciation of the crimes of Stalin are becoming greater and greater in volume.

It is known that after having maintained a long silence on this report, the Communist Party decided to break it this week with a declaration of its political bureau published 24 hours after the interview given by Togliatti to a liberal Italian review.

It appears from this declaration and this interview, both of which were approved by the British Communist Party, that Western Communists, while approving the spirit which dictated the Khrushchev report, refuse to subscribe without more analysis to all the accusations made against Stalin. In other words, the Western Communist parties desire that henceforth problems posed in the Soviet Union are not obligatorily their problems.

There is no question, say the French Communist leaders, that the next Congress of Le Havre will take as the basis of its work the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the adaptation to this relative autonomy with respect to the USSR presents delicate problems to the French Communist leaders.

The Central Committee discussed this Friday and adopted a resolution which will be printed elsewhere. Furthermore, we will have occasion to discuss later on the way in which the party directorate intends to approach the Congress of Le Havre.

In the meantime, it is interesting to note two positions expressed this week in the weekly press by two intellectuals, one of whom was excluded from the party several months ago, Pierre Herve, and the other, Claude Roy, who is still a party member, but who has often demonstrated a certain independence of spirit.

In France Observateur Pierre Herve attacked Maurice Thorez very violently. The following are passages from his article: "There is no collective direction in the French Communist Party: Maurice Thorez rules through his creatures and his creatures rule through him. There is no democracy in the party: the manner of preparation for the Congress of Le Havre would furnish proof if there were need for it. In the conferences of federations and sections, the representatives of the leadership maneuver in a way to prevent criticisms being entered in the voted resolutions. The machine is scarcely shaken. The Federal Secretaries have their lists of delegates checked by the Central Committee. These arrangements are made so that the breath coming from Moscow does not reach Le Havre.

One should not draw from this the conclusion that there is nothing more to do: it is necessary to fight fascism wherever it is, including inside the Communist Party. No democrat, no advocate of socialism stands to gain anything by the increased nationalist and reactionary tendencies which come to light in the Communist Party. It seems to me that, on the contrary, a renovation of the methods of the French Communist Party can only be obtained in accord with the conclusions of the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the USSR."

The following passage is from an article by Claude Roy in L'Express: "The Khrushchev report is only interesting, agonizing, and haunting for those Christians as you and Communists as ourselves who 'have in common an inability to be happy in the world as it is.' It is to those alone that serious problems are presented today. To those who have never forgotten the victories won over misery and iniquity from the Oder to the Yellow Sea; to those who have perhaps forgotten sometimes that man is never all of one piece, that truth is not the property of a single man, that trust is not unconditional, and that revolutions are not monolithic. It is to those men and primarily to the members of the Communist Party that the knowledge of having been sometimes mistaken is a silent suffering because it is appropriately indescribable. It is those men that are aroused, nevertheless, from the silence of chagrin by the resolute will never to let such happenings occur again."

A great debate is henceforth open which is evidently one of the most important events of recent years. Is the

new current which is exhibited in the interior of the Communist Party capable of reversing in the near future the former methods? There is the question which all men ask themselves who think that it is possible to march the road of progress only by means of a great rally of which the Communist Party is necessarily one of the essential components.

Tunis-Soir, (quotes from French Non-Communist Press on the Reaction of the French Communist Party to the Khrushchev Speech) 19 June

Le Figaro Marcel Gabilly commented as follows: "If today the French Communist Party criticizes openly the Khrushchev report, the same as Togliatti did two days ago and the London Daily Worker yesterday, this does not mean at all that it raises the flag of independence against Moscow. It is entirely because Moscow has, by its own chief, modified its instructions.

"The synchronism with which the Communist parties protest at Rome, at London and at Paris is remarkable. This discipline shown by each crying 'Vive la liberte' deceives no one."

L'Aurore commented as follows: "One awaited with curiosity the reaction of the French Communist Party. This appeared yesterday in a declaration of the political bureau. The text is similar to a Spanish inn: one finds there what one brings there. Thorez and Duclos carry off the clownish feat of praising Stalin as the designer of 'Leninism' and of crushing him according to the accusations made by Khrushchev.

Thorez and Duclos execute an about-face, proclaiming the virtues of the recent Moscow congress, asking Khrushchev humbly to communicate to them the text of his indictment against Stalin, and reaffirming at the end their 'close solidarity' with the Communist Party of the USSR."

Franc-Tireur: Charles Ronsac wrote as follows: "The brief statement of the political bureau is a sinister joke."

Whom do the French Communist Party leaders think they will convince that they 'have been ignorant' of the facts revealed by the report and which they are refraining from even mentioning again? Thorez, Duclos, Fajon, Billoux and Co., not to mention Aragon and Courtade, have, on the other hand, the nerve of calling the 'extravagant eulogies' addressed to Stalin during his lifetime erroneous, whereas their own eulogies would make up a most obsequious anthology.

Finally these leaders reveal themselves as super-Stalinists in having Stalin play in the October Revolution a role which Soviet historians will henceforth challenge and, especially, in crediting him with the lion's share in 'the formation of all Communist parties.' This last avowal is important because it is sincere. It is thanks to Stalin and in his name that these men, accomplices of an 'arbitrary repression,' have for years deceived and fooled a large part of French workers."

Les Echos commented as follows: "In reality, there is general confusion in the Communist camp. In the peoples' democracies the Cominform leaders of yesterday are adapting themselves somehow or other (and mostly poorly, especially in attempting to save their personal positions) to the de-Stalinization. Only Poland, and more cautiously Rumania which awaits Tito's visit, make the reversal resolutely.

In the USSR there is no visible sign of regret for Stalinism among the youth (at least up to the present time) or among the directing circles. But this regret is very possible in the Communist International, if it has not already begun with the position adopted by Togliatti. There is no longer a Communist Mecca nor an unquestioned prophet. And that is an event which gives to the 'Khrushchev report' an historical importance."

Tunis-Soir, 21 June

La Voix du Nord Andre Stibio commented as follows: "At the present time our impression is that the Western Communist parties are passing through a profound crisis, which they scarcely attempt to disguise, and that their plans do not go as far as certain individuals claim. Their

immediate goal is more prosaic: it is to regain a little balance, to rediscover more solid doctrinal foundations, and to overcome the type of paralysis with which they have begun to be affected since Stalin was cast down from his pedestal, denounced with an unusual violence by those who were his companions and his accomplices, before becoming his posthumous prosecutors."

Jacques Le Desert stated in Le Midi Libre as follows: "How can one imagine that in a party as strongly organized as the Communist Party, where nothing is left to chance, where everything is so minutely examined and weighed, the important officials were ignorant of the whole content of the Khrushchev report, the conclusions of which the official organ of their party, nevertheless, commented favorably upon about 20 March?

How can they admit that they could underestimate the importance it had for them, and that they had done nothing in this instance to get information?

And if Thorez and Duclos had the report for a long time, which is at least probable, they could have published it themselves in L'Humanite for the edification of their political friends. The regret which they exhibit today of not having been able to do so is then only hypocrisy."

IRAN

Etelaat, 6 June

The exact text of the speech delivered by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR was published by the US Department of State yesterday. This text has apparently reached the Americans through one of the Communist parties of the satellite states.

While Tito is on a visit to Moscow, let us see what could have motivated the US Department of State to publish this speech.

In the first place, in publishing this speech, the US Department of State has scored a major propaganda counter attack, using a tactic often employed by Soviet propagandists, namely, quoting directly the speech of a Soviet leader. Using the very words of a Kremlin leader attacking another Kremlin leader is a most effective means of counter propaganda.

Another aim of the publication of the speech is to erase from the minds of people the notion that after the death of Stalin, a new era of liberalism descended on the USSR. By publishing the speech, the US Department of State wants to go on record as having informed the world, the American public included, that no basic change has taken place in Soviet policy, and that the much publicized Soviet transformation is not a reality at all.

Moreover, to the world at large, the publication of the speech will reveal American diplomacy as maintaining an unabated fight against international Communism. Also, since Washington's attention is constantly focused on the Satellite states, the US Department of State wants to make it clear that it has not relinquished the idea of securing the freedom of these states.

Wash. Post

JUL 1 1956

"I Said, 'YOU TOO CAN SHARE THE BETTER LIFE!'"



FAR EAST

JAPAN

Nippon Times
June 6 1956

The Red Tsar

The publication of the text of Mr. Khrushchev's "secret" speech, made before the Communist Party Congress in Moscow on February 25, shows that the speaker minced no words in giving the assembled Reds a revelation of Stalin's dictatorship at its worst.

The picture thus drawn of the dead Soviet leader is that of one of the cruelest despots who ever disgraced the human race but how far others shared his crimes, or perhaps instigated them, is not so clear. Certainly people who nicknamed Stalin in his lifetime "Red Tsar" were justified. He seems to have regarded everyone with suspicion and as a possible object for "liquidation" but his greatest fault in the eyes of his successors, who now say they have forsworn dictatorship, is that he turned his terror against the Communist Party itself.

While we must hesitate to declare that Stalin was a necessary product of the Russian people in a state of revolutionary excitement, it is possible that to some extent he may be regarded as a consequence of Russian history—a history marked by so many extremes.

But many perusing Mr. Khrushchev's speech, and bearing in mind the events that have happened and are still happening in Red satellite countries, will be inclined to ask "Is a dictatorship the logical outcome of communism?" and "Can communism exist without a dictatorship?" The answers to these questions may well be "yes" and "no" respectively. But we need not be, like the Reds themselves, too dogmatic. The answers we seek are likely to be given within the next few years through practical developments.

This much is possible—the communism that we have known in action since the Bolshevik revolution in Russia may be superseded by what we generally call socialism today—a socialism susceptible of being adapted to various countries according to their special circumstances.

It may be asked what is the difference between communism and socialism? It is not always easy to say. But perhaps it would not be wrong to pronounce that communism, although it wears the outward trappings of socialist ideas, clings to a vicious dogmatism opposed to the spirit of free inquiry and the judgment of issues on the merits of each case. Moreover, it seems certain that it is just this vicious dogmatism that is apt to make the crimes of Stalin and other dictators possible.

In other words, these men, and the supporters who make their existence possible, can only see one side of any issue and when they are thwarted by opposition, they turn instinctively to murder and the prison camp to enforce their views.

Those other questions as to how far socialism itself is a sound proposition and how far human competitiveness and individualism ought to be discouraged under modern conditions of life must be judged fairly and calmly as occasion arises in the practical affairs of nations.

What is certain is that the state of things revealed in Mr. Khrushchev's speech is totally inconsistent with human welfare. And we are reminded that those who now direct the course of the system rose to eminence under his tutelage. Do they want us to believe that they were poor pupils?

Yukan Sankei Jiji, 19 June

An unidentified writer states as follows:

When I wrote, at the time of Stalin's death, that Stalin was a great slaughterer rarely seen in history, I received many scathing letters. However, the 10 June issue of the international edition of the New York Times, which I received yesterday, carried Khrushchev's detailed comments on Stalin's terrorism during the 1930s.

I got up at 0400 hours this morning and began reading the article, but I am having difficulty because Khrushchev's speech is printed solidly in small type. But I did discover that my views and Khrushchev's speech are completely in accord on Stalin's large-scale murder in the 1930s; that is, that Stalin brutally murdered Trotsky, Zinoviyev, Bukharin, etc. when they were not revolutionary but merely engaged in ideological arguments; that Stalin condemned to death many other innocent people; and that Lenin would not have committed such cruel acts but, on the contrary, he probably would have placed these people in important posts and resolved the issue politically.

Khrushchev confirmed my accusation that Stalin was a murderer rarely seen in history. I would like to hear from those Communist Party sympathizers who criticized me.

MALAYA

Singapore, Nan-yang Shang-pao, 21 April 1956

Official Soviet propaganda has for sometime been enlarging its adulation of Lenin, in order to fill the blank left by Stalin, a gap which the collective leadership system cannot fill. By restoring the former glory of Lenin, the Soviet leaders doubtless hope to destroy Stalin's black record, and follow a more glorious path.

This tendency was already discernible after Stalin's death. It was seen not only in the striving anew to build up Lenin as all-knowing, but also in the greater emphasis on collective leadership. It stressed the rights of citizens and condemned the cult of the individual. It admitted the mistakes of Stalin, and opposed his methods and policies, foreshadowing the eventual casting aside of Stalin's image.

The new rulers had long before made everything ready; the praises of Stalin ceased very quickly after his funeral. There was less and less mention of his name on radio and in the press, and more and more praise of Lenin's sagacity and intelligence. Anniversaries of Lenin's birth and death are celebrated with the highest rituals and applause. He is pictured as the sole example of Sovietism, and the source of inspiration. It is made clear through secret hints, that Stalin's many cruelties, may be blamed on his departing from pure Leninist theory.

Lenin's writings are being searched for quotations justifying every new turn in Soviet policy; articles in the papers inform the public about Lenin's collective leadership, and his understanding of peaceful coexistence, social laws, religion, and even of art and music. When change in policy demands, Lenin becomes an elder statesman of heavy industry. To emphasize this point, at the Central Committee Meeting in January 1955, Mr. Khrushchev said that the great Lenin was the sole repositior of the correct line. Stalin's name was still mentioned, but the word "great" was omitted.

In Soviet propaganda, the collective leadership system is now continually tied in with Leninist theory. Before the 20th Congress, it was a topic for regular discussion in papers

and on radio. Commentators on party affairs clearly have discovered that it is safe to talk about Lenin. Early Communist strivings are also mentioned, Lenin's struggles with the Mensheviks, his wisdom in guiding the revolution, and so forth. Lenin's small book, published long ago, in which he jeers at the Menshevik slogan of "one step forward, two steps backward," has become a teaching history topic by A-li-K'o-sai Tu-chia-ting over Moscow radio.

In Mr. Khrushchev's long address to the 20th Congress in Moscow in February, the first part was adding to Lenin's testamentary instructions. He said correctly that Marx-Leninism condemned the cult of the individual, and the making of an outstanding leader to be the top-ranking hero and miracle-worker. Those all became, during secret conferences over several days, forerunner of his amazing attack on Stalin.

Naturally enough, satellite propaganda wanted to be on the safe side. They very carefully took over this whole topic of collective leadership, at the same time holding fast to as much of the Lenin line as was harmless. Most recently, the Budapest official daily Szabad Nep reported that the Soviet Communist party congress had severely criticized crooked interpretations of harmful Leninist ways of administration, and had restored Lenin's collective leadership system, and the party's principle of democracy.

As to the reports of riots in Tiflis, opposing Khrushchev's accusation of Stalin, the most unusual feature was: the Georgia Zarya Vostoka's editorial was to be broadcast on 16 March, when that paper in carefully measured terms stressed Georgia's "ties with our brothers, the great Soviet people." However, because it held to Leninism, the paper observed that the party congress decisions reiterated Lenin's dictum that socialism cannot do away with national differences and personality, but in fact assured the growth of the whole economy and culture of existing nations.

Every sentence that Lenin uttered about coexistence with capitalist nations, is being used again, and made into script suitable for newspaper or radio. These sentences, at last year's Geneva conference were considered to contain many parts to smile at. A political commentator, Li-hang-t'ai-wu, may serve as an example. He said: "Lenin's profound opinion was that each nation should have the right to choose its own form of government and way of life. Lenin was a genuine

hater of interference in other men's affairs. He felt that a nation's right of self-determination was sacred and also inviolable. He not only proclaimed that peaceful coexistence with capitalist nations was possible, but also commercial cooperation on a basis of mutual respect."

When at present some rulers have taken away the rights of public security and police, and attacked the individual arbitrary methods, Lenin's "Laws of Society" is revered as a model. This is the same as when there is a big turn in policy, regarding coexistence or heavy industry, in principle or in party matters, Lenin's pronouncements have become a Bible.

Stalin never desired to oust Lenin; he used Lenin, and created "Stalinist Leninism." In some essays on Stalinism, he again explained things about Lenin. Khrushchev in his big speech, shows a tendency to do the same thing. We recall that this was Stalin's way of getting into the Central Committee. In a dignified way he played the role of representing Lenin, stirring up trouble for Trotsky, and finally destroyed Trotsky's faction. And Trotsky himself was also like Stalin; he began his work in the role of an expounder of Lenin.

The present Soviet rulers have brought out Lenin's name and destroyed the name of a leader who has already left this world; and have revived Lenin's teachings in order to discredit old policies which have failed. Also they have explained the new policies as proper. This method helps the Soviet rulers because the various cruelties of Stalin's rule, and his disregard of freedom, his purges, killings, and slave-camps, etc., have aroused anger the world over. The method of bringing out Lenin paves the way for restoring the Soviet system to a place of honor. At least, "coexistence" must be like this.

At the same time, it seems that the Soviet leaders really want to lessen the pressure on the Soviet people, and in the past three years they may be said to have done so little. Also while those policies of Stalin's were cruel, yet at that time they were seen to be necessary, and were not discredited and left no traces to lessen "efforts to push agriculture," or "more severely to cause consumers to assume the task of heavy industry."

In a word, the new leaders, as Mr. Khrushchev now admits, when they were grovelling in service to Stalin, suffered many insults; and now we see that there has come about a situation more reasonable, more free, more humane. They plainly admit that Stalin's policies did not succeed. Outwardly, his cold war led the West to unite against the Soviet Union, and to build a terrifying military defensive rampart; which rampart has proved itself a heavy road-block in the way of Soviet economic growth; and also if continued, will cause more suffering to the Soviet people who have been in trouble for so long. Within the nation they have aroused a feeling of fear and unrest.

In summary the psychological effect sought for by the reviving of the adulation of Lenin is to create among the satellite nations the identification of the current Soviet leadership with those qualities of wisdom, abilities to counsel and organize, and the harmonious leadership of Lenin which the satellite nations have not forgotten. The purpose of reviving this adulation of Lenin is also directed toward socialist elements abroad who have been alienated by Stalin's mistakes, but who still have respect for Lenin.

INDOCHINA

Saigon, Le Journal d'Extreme Orient, 6, June

The Department of State has just published, without assuring its authenticity, a version of the "anti-Stalin" speech delivered by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The revelation of contents of this document causes some experts to think that Stalin was assassinated and was not victim of a cerebral hemorrhage as the official version has it.

Khrushchev has reportedly stated in fact that Stalin was on the verge of launching a murderous purge against certain members of the Politburo, including Molotov and Mikoyan. "It is not to be excluded," he Khrushchev has reportedly said, "that had Stalin remained at the helm for several months more, Comrades Molotov and Mikoyan would not have delivered speeches at this congress. Evidently, Stalin had plans to finish off the old members of the Politburo."

Sensing that Stalin, driven by his morbid fear for conspiracy, would go ahead to eliminate them with his usual savageness, his most intimate collaborators wanted so much for him to disappear before their own condemnation. The American experts recognize, however, that the Khrushchev speech, even if it is justified in its assumptions, does not bear any conclusive indication on this historical riddle.

This document is a long indictment against the person and his methods of dictatorship. Khrushchev has reportedly imputed to Stalin the abuses committed during the purges, the responsibility for the initial disaster of the war and the rupture with Yugoslavia, and the death of 70 per cent of the members of the Central Committee of the Party. Finally, he has reportedly exposed the conflicts which set the Communist despot against Voroshilov, Molotov, Mikoyan, and Zhukov.

INDONESIA

Interview, Aidit, 5 July (as broadcast by radio)

Jakarta--Stalin did more good than harm during the time he was in power in the USSR, Mr. Aidit, secretary general of the Indonesian Communist Party, said today. He added: "Stalin's only fault was that he promoted the power of a single man instead of collective leadership."

Mr. Aidit said that the Indonesian Communist Party--the most important one in Southeast Asia--would continue "to consider Stalin one of the greatest leaders of Communism" and would keep his portrait on the walls of the Party headquarters in Jakarta.

UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES

New York Times
July 3 1956

THE CULPRIT IS COMMUNISM

Despite their breast beating and self-accusation, the Communist leaders refuse to face up to the central issue involved in the overthrow of the Stalin myth. The Communists outside of Soviet Russia, who boast that they have a "scientific" explanation for everything, want to know how and why Stalin's crimes and the Stalin myth could happen. And the Moscow Communists, who proclaim the Marxist theory that history is made not by individuals but by economic forces and "class" action, now attempt to put all the blame for Stalinism on Stalin.

But the real issue, long evident to free men everywhere, is that the horrors of Stalin's rule were not primarily the result of the aberrations of Stalin or any other man but are instead inherent elements and inevitable products of the whole Communist system, which requires a Stalin to run it and therefore must always create a Stalin or collapse in chaos and revolt.

The reasons why responsibility for these evils rests not so much on men as on the system are self-evident. Communism represents a violent and in practice a permanent revolution to overthrow all non-Communist social systems and Governments and to wipe out all but one of the existing "classes" in order to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" which annihilates all opponents. When successful resistance by the non-Communist world makes it necessary, this revolution may be carried on, as in the Thirties and now again, by the Trojan horse tactic of temporary "coexistence" and a "united front" with "progressive" elements to capture parliaments and bring Communists to power legally. But, as proclaimed anew by the Communist leaders themselves, the

revolution is always the paramount objective, to be pursued, when a Communist resistance weakens, by violence, terror and war.

In this revolution of extermination the end justifies the means and abrogates both the rights of the individual and the moral and ethical restraints of civilization. Furthermore, since such a revolution can be staged only by a conspiracy, it must be staged, as Lenin recognized, by a small group of ruthless men, who in turn will be dominated by the most ruthless among them. This man thereby inevitably becomes a dictator whose arbitrary will becomes law that spells life or death for millions.

But the same inevitability of dictatorial rule continues to prevail even after a Communist system is established. For communism, even when called "socialism," rests in theory on "community" ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange, which in practice, and despite the promise of a "withering away" of the state, means a monopoly of state capitalism. This means expropriation and "liquidation" of all "capitalists," from large industrialists to small shopkeepers and farmers, and the transfer of all productive property to the state. It means the centralized management, operation and planning of a whole national economy and every part of it by a vast bureaucracy under a top command which makes the state the only employer and seeks to realize its political aims and cover up its blunders and inefficiency by terrorizing and exploiting both the managers and the workers to the point of making them all serfs of the state. Finally, it means the constant prevention and suppression

of all opposition to this system, whether due to man's innate desire for freedom or to a possessive in-

stinct on his part that would interfere with state operations.

All this demands and inevitably leads to a concentration of totalitarian power—not only political but also economic, social, educational and every other power—in the top command of the state. And this top command is again the small group of ruthless men who have clawed their way to the top, and who, being usurpers, must inevitably rule by means of a ruthless police terror. They may seek to "liberalize" their rule and decentralize their state operations; they may temporarily imitate Lenin's "new economic policy" in respect to rebellious peasants; they may even pose as a "collective leadership." But the end result is still dictatorship, which inevitably leads to the tyranny of the man who, in the constant struggle for power, is fastest on the trigger, and to poverty and human degradation for the masses.

In all this, communism merely confirms an ancient wisdom summarized by Lord Acton in the maxim that "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The founding fathers of the United States knew it when they voted for the separation of political powers, not to speak of economic power. The Socialists realized it when they not only repudiated Marx' revolution in favor of democratic evolution but also, in view of the Soviet example and their own experience with nationalization of industry, began to veer away from total state ownership. The unmasking of Stalin should serve to warn those who still see in communism a short cut to industrial development and do not reckon the price.

The U.S.A. and Khrushchev's Special Report

By EUGENE DENNIS

PERHAPS NO previous gathering of a political party anywhere has caused as much worldwide interest and provoked such a stir of public opinion as the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Reactions to and developments since the Congress in the past four months have been varied. In many quarters, including in certain Left circles, there are some for whom the revelations about Stalin have taken up the whole horizon and who seem temporarily to have lost sight of the political significance and far-reaching effect of the 20th Congress as a whole.

But there is also a growing number of non-Communist groups and individuals who see in the 20th Congress, and in the very revelations about Stalin, a completely new possibility for re-evaluating their own views regarding relations with Communists. And these past weeks have seen (not only in New York) an increasing number of important and stimulating informal discussions taking place between Communists and non-Communist liberal and labor leaders.

John Foster Dulles and the State Department recognize that there is a changing political climate abroad and at home, a change sharply away from the atmosphere of the Cold War. They are keenly aware of the fact that the 20th Congress has stimulated this whole trend. The State Department for instance, is uneasy at the rapprochement between Belgrade and Moscow, the cutting of Soviet armed forces, the Soviet invitation to General Twining, and the fact that a recent Gallup

Poll shows a majority of Americans favor that Khrushchev and Bulganin be invited to visit here. It hopes that through its publication and use of its version of the special Khrushchev report, it can disrupt the trend toward peaceful co-existence among Americans and the "neutrals," disorient the Left, and sow disunity among Communists at home and abroad.

But despite all efforts of the State Department, even some conservative spokesmen and many liberals view the 20th Congress as inaugurating a period in which the industrial and technological supremacy of U.S. capitalism will have to meet on an equal level with the historic, peaceful competition of Soviet socialism. And the special report of Khrushchev is viewed in numerous non-Communist as well as in Communist circles as an evidence of that strength and confidence which enables the Soviet Union today to break with some very harmful features of the past, and to pave the way for a vast expansion of democracy in its internal life.

This perspective and these changes must inevitably bring about modifications in the positions of all forward-looking groups, trade unionists, liberals, Socialists, no less than Communists. And it is the recognition of these big changes that has created the growing number of requests for mutual exchanges and deep-going discussions by non-Communists democratic groups in a number of cities in the past weeks.

THE KHRUSHCHEV report on Stalin tells a tragic story. Shocking and painful as it is, however, it is a part of history.

Communists must have the courage to face up to it, analyze it, and draw conclusions from it.

Over the last forty years imperialism exacted a terrible price from the Soviet people and their leaders who dared to storm the heights and build socialism. This we knew. Now belatedly, we see that the heroic path to the most monumental and progressive advance in human history was made all the more difficult at a certain period by shocking crimes and crass violations of socialist law and ethics.

We especially, because we are Communists, understand and share the profound grief and shock of the Soviet people. The crimes and brutalities that sullied the latter period of Stalin's leadership are unforgivable. Nor did they have any historical or political "necessity." Nothing can justify the use of tortures and rigged trials; large-scale deportations; provocative and chauvinist actions as in the case of Yugoslavia; the persecution of the Jewish doctors and snuffing out the lives of more than a score of Jewish cultural figures.

Socialism could not continue to allow such terrible injustices to go undisclosed or unremedied. That is the meaning of the morally and politically courageous corrective measures undertaken in the last three years. We can expect to see these measures amplified as Khrushchev's extremely frank report is critically discussed by millions of Soviet citizens.

THERE ARE MANY questions about which all of us are thinking deeply. Many are the honest questions of friends, as well as of those who strongly disagree with us. Some are the loaded questions pressed by the

State Department and its various "voices" of radio and press.

Why did these things happen? Were they inevitable? Are they inherent in socialism, in Communist philosophy?

A pet theme of the State Department is that the special Khrushchev report rejects "only" those injustices which were perpetrated against "the wrong people." The claim is made that the rejection of Stalin's methods must be extended to the rejection of Lenin and Leninism and of socialism as a whole.

But not even the brazen advocate of atomic "brink of war" policies can obscure the history of the last four decades. The liberating teachings of Lenin have already triumphed in one-third of the globe. The socialist world system has arrived and is irrevocably established. It wants and needs peace. It considers that war is no longer inevitable as it was in Lenin's time, that a thermo-nuclear war would be a catastrophe, but that it can be prevented. It is confidently competing on a peaceful basis with capitalism in every sphere of human aspiration and endeavor. It recognizes with a new maturity that the paths to socialism are many; and that in today's world more and more peoples and countries will be able to hew a parliamentary and democratic road to socialism in accord with their own national traditions and experience.

As for Lenin's "methods," but two facts need be recalled. Under his leadership the first act of the new Soviet Republic in 1917 was to proclaim peace and bring an end to the massive blood-letting visited on the Russian people during World War I. And in 1921 while foreign armies of intervention were still trying to bring down the Soviet

Union, Lenin called for an end to the death penalty and any mass repressive measures.

IN THIS connection it is well to ponder a question that now some would like to conceal:

Who were the real architects of a policy of terror in respect to the Soviet Union? Those who tried to invoke the wrath of heaven and earth to crush the first land of socialism to "strangle it in its cradle," as Winston Churchill put it.

How this new society, built in one of the most backward of nations, was forced to run the gauntlet of every type of attack and suffering! Civil war and military intervention pressed by the strongest governments of Europe, America, and Asia; merciless blockade and enforced famine; economic and political boycott; devastation by the hordes of Hitler; and then, with the wounds still gaping, ten years of bitter cold war—these were the sacrifices and suffering exacted by reactionary capitalism from those who dared to build a new world!

It is this grim background that gave a life and death character to the struggle over policy in the young socialist state. Industrialize or perish; catch up economically with the leading capitalist powers or be crushed by them—these are the conditions that help explain, although they do not justify, an atmosphere in which, for a period of time under Stalin's leadership, after the foundations of socialism were established, such gruesome departures from socialism were possible, as Khrushchev fearlessly disclosed.

As a result of the near miraculous progress of the Soviet people, the Soviet state and the C.P.S.U. over these hard and turbulent years, the great prestige of Stalin grew. The USSR became a first rank industrial nation. It wiped out illiteracy. It developed an unprecedented system of social ownership of the means of production and full employment, of free medical aid, education and social security for its people. Workers and farmers achieved a political, economic and cultural status and dignity undreamed of under the Czars, and, in many ways, unmatched in the advanced cap-

italist countries. Oppression and Czarist racism gave way to national independence, social development and self-expression for peoples and nations for whom the ancient Russian empire had been one vast prison.

In the early 1930's when socialism had been built—notwithstanding all external pressures and attacks—Stalin promulgated an analysis and a course of action that undermined the new socialist Constitution and facilitated the grievous violations that are only now being corrected. This was the theory that with the victory of socialism, the desperate class enemy would become even more dangerous, would organize increased resistance internally, and would penetrate every echelon of the Soviet state, the country's economy, and even the Party and its leadership.

It would be naive to think that the Soviet Union did not have its Benedict Arnolds. But the search for "enemies of the people" took on hysterical proportions in which virtually all opposition and serious differences of opinion became suspect.

At the same time there developed greater centralization of state power and the cultivation of hero worship of Stalin, especially during and after World War II, and the breakdown of Party and Soviet collectivity, and restrictions in creative intellectual and cultural life. And it was during this period that the security organs of the USSR obtained and wielded a normal and dangerous powers and criminally violated the Soviet Constitution.

HOW WAS IT possible for so many Communists in the "West," and so many non-Communist statesmen and political leaders, to accept the idea that treason and treachery had assumed such fantastic proportions in the Soviet Union as were claimed in the series of purges and trials that took place in the 1930's and subsequently?

For one thing, this was the period of the climatic rise of Hitler and his notorious Fifth Column, gathered openly under the "anti-Comintern" banner.

Secondly, especially we here in the strongest imperialist coun-

try have always been aware of the vicious anti-Soviet intrigues and espionage sponsored and financed by American Big Business. Moreover, we knew the history of our own labor movement and that the great economic struggles and free speech fights of the past decades are replete with tragic examples of strike-breaking and wreckage caused by labor spies, informers and provocateurs.

The terrible phenomena of false "confessions" and fabricated "evidence"—evil products of a feverishly suspicious and hysterical atmosphere exploited by a Yezhov, a Beria, and other agents of imperialism—have only now been proved by the opening of archives kept secret for many years. Similar to the secret intelligence agencies in our own country, like the FBI and CIA which have dictatorial powers, flout the Constitution, and are not accountable even to Congress, Beria and his accomplices obviously were able to perpetrate their crimes against the people under the guise of "national security."

All this was not the "fruit of socialism," but a bitter product of contradictions and abuses alien to socialism which a socialist society could not digest nor tolerate. Certainly we Communists, of all people, cannot ignore nor make light of these facts.

Nonetheless history cannot judge an epic social advance primarily by the evils and mistakes and departures from its principles that may arise in the tumultuous period of its growth and progress. The wise and moving words of one of our own great revolutionary theoreticians, Thomas Jefferson, regarding the French Revolution, are worth remembering today:

"In the struggle which was necessary, many guilty persons fell without the form of trial; and with them some innocent. These I deplore as much as anybody and shall deplore some of them to the day of my death. . . . But time and truth will rescue and embalm their memories, while their posterity will be enjoying that very liberty for which they would never have hesitated to offer up their lives."

(Letter to William Short, Jan.

3, 1793).

CONTRARY to the State De-

partment propaganda, the inherent evils of today's world are those of capitalism, not of socialism. Inherent in socialism is the ending of exploitation of man by man; the elimination of the causes of war, depressions, and racism. The inherent spirit of socialism is human, national, and social freedom. Its victory in the USSR, and subsequently in China and the other people's democracies, has broken the back of colonialism, and in the last ten years has inspired a winning upsurge to national liberation and social advance of over a billion colored peoples.

The economic royalists hate socialism—not for its failings, but for its strength, for its inherent social progress and liberating values.

How hypocritical is their effort to sensationalize and make capital of the Soviet Union's determined effort to erase the abuses against socialist justice and democracy! One need only mention that the State Department is not prevented from extolling the "merits" of fascist Spain by Franco's crimes against the people. It is not bothered by the indescribable corruption, degeneracy, and rottenness of the puppet regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Nor is it adverse to the unconstitutional racist rule by force and violence of Eastland, Talmadge and Shivers, aided and abetted by McCarthy and Walters, Jenner and Nixon—which is sanctioned as an "accepted way of life" for a sizeable part of our own U.S.A.

This, then, is a clue as to which of today's prevailing world social systems harbors the "inherent evil."

IN THE DISCUSSION on the 20th Congress currently being centered around the special Khrushchev report, questions frequently arise about the present Soviet leadership. Did some of them try to bring about changes before the last three years? Could the past evils have been checked earlier? How big and serious are the changes now under way?

Many questions remained unanswered. The Khrushchev report, which was primarily a documented supplement to his main political report to the 20th Congress, reflects only a part of the

probing that has gone on, and which may continue for years to come, in the CPSU and among the Soviet people.

There is no mistaking the historic process which is at work today. For example, for years it has been fashionable in Washington to characterize all the peace talk among the Soviet people and the concrete peace proposals of their leaders as a cover for "war-like" or "aggressive" intentions. But when a number of American travelers in the last three years began to visit the USSR, they concluded that no country could organize for war by so completely imbuing all its citizens with the idea of peace. And many conservative statesmen and millions of common folk in the West have concluded also that no "aggressor" could voluntarily relinquish all its military bases abroad and unilaterally reduce its armed forces, as has been done by the Soviet Union in the past few years.

In a similar way, along with the elimination of gross injustices of socialist law and ethics and harmful hero-worship, the process of mass popularization of the historic decisions of the 20th Congress seems to be well under way whereby critical inquiry and expression, and cultural and scientific interchange are coming into their own, along with a series of governmental and party measures to ensure the complete enforcement of the Soviet constitution and the expansion of democracy in the USSR.

Even a skeptic must admit the fortitude, integrity, confidence and team spirit with which the present Soviet leadership has moved since 1953 to bring about the present thaw in international affairs, to expand socialist democracy, and effectuate a marked rise in living and cultural standards. Self-criticism in its highest form and in its only effective form is being applied in the Soviet Union today—i.e., actual self-correction. Not least of all, the steps being taken to restore genuine collective leadership in the CPSU and the Soviets are providing prerequisites for overcoming and eliminating all departures and violations of socialist legality and principle.

But this is not just a matter

of leaders. The key thing is the popular character of the process, embracing the whole Soviet people. It is demonstrated in the sharp discussions among writers and scientists, in the factories and on collective farms, as reported in the newspapers daily. The recently announced steps to decentralize the ministries of justice and economic planning seem to be especially significant. This would mark an historic turn-away from a highly centralized state with certain bureaucratic excesses which inevitably presented a contradiction to the further development of Soviet democracy.

Socialist democracy has broad and strong economic and political foundations for its further development in the USSR. There is no exploiting class that by virtue of its great wealth and corporate power can assume the decisive, commanding positions of the economy and of public expression and political life. There is no material obstacle to democracy's flowering as the abnormal conditions of the struggle for survival fade and the socialist constitution is made inviolable.

Certainly the minds of men and their public institutions are always influenced not only by the historic achievements of the past and present, but by the hangovers of former evils and mistakes. No one can say that new mistakes, of an entirely different type no doubt, may not be made in socialist countries again. To expect infallibility in any group of leaders is to compound the basic error of the past and to have learned nothing from the bitter mistake in elevating a Stalin to the pedestal of a demi-God. One of the key tests of political integrity and socialist strength is the frank recognition of error and, most important, self-correction. And by the record of the last three years and their present public disclosures, discussions and rectifications, it appears as a matter of fact, that the C.P.S.U. is meeting this test.

IN THE CURRENT world-wide discussions on the special Khrushchev report, we American Communists have much to think over. A myriad of questions have been opened up to which all of us have the responsibility to reflect and seek answers—answers

which can come only from a sober re-assessment of facts and a full exchange of views.

We see now that we made some serious mistakes. Based upon mistaken information, as in the case of the rupture with Yugoslavia or the former situation in Soviet agriculture—we defended and accepted the indefensible and unacceptable with uncritical attitudes. We too glibly, or idealistically, assumed that the great job of building socialism could take place without major mistakes. We refused to believe, and regarded as slander, any news that purported to tell of grave injustices in the socialist countries.

While correctly repudiating and counteracting the vile slander and anti-Soviet hostility of the corporate interests and their agents, we were often intolerant of the critical opinions and viewpoints of many labor and liberal spokesmen. We too often treated criticism from sincere trade unionists and liberals as though it came from the professional anti-Communist and anti-Soviet baiters.

For all this we feel profound regret—without reservation or equivocation.

But we also do not detract one iota from the deep pride we felt in the fact that throughout the years we American Communists resolutely championed the cause of socialism, proletarian internationalism and American-Soviet friendship. This we continue to do actively and proudly. For this has always been, and is today, in the best interest of America and of world peace.

FDR, for example, near the end of his life, referred to the establishment of friendly and good neighborly relations with the Soviet Union as "the crowning achievement" of his Administration. The corrections now being made by the USSR, the eradication of all that is alien to socialism, facilitate this goal of amity and peaceful co-existence. And as this process continues, millions of Americans will begin to see socialism in a new light, and with the understanding that socialist society is a changing, evolutionary, and constantly improving system.

In this connection, many socialist-minded Americans will begin to realize that the hard and sacrificial struggles of the pio-

neers of socialism in the USSR—despite all their errors, malpractices and defects—have made possible the establishment of a worldwide socialist system, and have enormously facilitated the path to socialism everywhere. That road in our own country will be worked out by the American people in accord with our own conditions and traditions.

Certainly we American Communists advocate and strive for a democratic, constitutional and peaceful course of social transformation whereby the majority of the American people ultimately will move forward and establish a new social system on the basis of American needs and experience, traditions and labor-democratic political relationships.

Within the framework of a common concern for peace and the progress and advancement of socialism in all countries, we American Communists—while maintaining at all times our own position as an independent political party with a truly scientific attitude towards all parties and social phenomena—should continue to base our attitude towards the lands of socialism on the principles of international working class solidarity which, as Lincoln noted, is a hallmark of genuine patriotism.

In the past our gaze was often exclusively on the historic gains of socialism against overwhelming odds. And if, in certain respects, our previous vision now appears one-sided in retrospect, how near-sighted to the point of blindness would it be to see today only the grotesque distortions made in the last years of Stalin's leadership, and to lose sight of the historic achievements of socialism and the grand panorama of a new world before us!

IT IS NO surprise that many of us react in different ways to the questions that have erupted with such impact. The Daily Worker has opened the way for a democratic discussion and a vigorous clash of opinion. In the process, many invaluable contributions have been made. A number of views and approaches have been put forth. It would be unrealistic to expect all of us to agree with all of them.

As for myself, there are ideas expressed in some of the letters, articles, and editorials appearing in the Daily Worker which

I cannot agree with. I do not agree with approaches that minimize the errors now revealed. I cannot agree, on the other hand, with sweeping anti-Soviet indictments that fail to take historical fact and perspective into account and that, regardless of intent, foster hostility toward socialist countries. I share the attitude of a frank and honest self-critical apology to honest people we have mistakenly condemned. But I cannot accept the viewpoint that wipes out and undermines pride and confidence in the Socialist countries. Nor do I share the cynical attitudes that would minimize or blot out the historic contributions of us American Communists to the working class and to our nation—contributions past or present, not to speak of the future.

I am confident that our Party—in the process of strengthening its ties with the labor and Negro people's movements and all other democratic forces, and by exercising the greatest independent Marxist judgment—will prove fully capable of helping solve not only the social questions of the future, but also the vital problems now confronting the American people. And parenthetically, let me add, that our "political independence" will not be measured by how much we "criticize" or "pressure" other vanguard parties but, above all, by how we boldly and creatively apply, in accord with American conditions and needs, the principles of scientific socialism to help solve the immediate and fundamental problems of our own, the American people.

This article does not attempt to deal with some of the big-

gest questions concerning how the American Left, inclusive of the Communists, can move forward and draw the necessary conclusions from the past, effect certain basic and long overdue changes in certain aspects of their programmatic positions, structures, and methods of work, and exert greater political influence on the course of political and social events.

These problems are now being more widely considered not only by us Communists, but by many labor, liberal, Left, and socialist-minded people and groups. Opinions need not, and should not, jell prematurely. There is room for much thought and exploration inside and outside our ranks—for collective thought and action rooted in the political realities of our country.

Above all, there is the need for greater mass political and economic activity, such as around the key issues in the 1956 elections, now, even while the current discussions go on. This, above all else can provide the framework for new gains and perspectives for a broad, popular realignment, as well as for the eventual emergence of a new mass party of socialism.

When all has been said and done about the 20th Congress (and that subject won't be exhausted for some time to come), one thing will remain above all else: the 20th Congress strengthened world peace and social progress. It marked a new stage in the advancement of socialism, and in the struggle for peaceful co-existence that began in Lenin's day, continued in the following years, and is becoming ever more effective and successful.

This policy captured the

imagination of mankind and was upheld even in the face of massive, hot and cold war threats, provocations, and the encirclement of the U.S.S.R. by A-bomb bases from 1946 on.

The emergence of socialism as a world system and the disintegration of the colonial empires has enriched and given new meaning to many basic Marxist precepts. One such Leninist proposition that now acquires new social significance is that socialism and capitalism can live and peacefully compete in the same world, that civilization is now on the threshold

of a lasting peace—because of the new world relationships, and through the heightened mass intervention and unity of the peoples.

The peoples and governments of the U.S.A. and the USSR can be friends, can live and let live, as good neighbors. If anything, that is all the more clear after the publication of the State Department's "big scoop" on the world-wide trend towards peaceful co-existence and social progress than could King Canute's decrees a halt to the ocean's waves.

A FRATERNAL DISCUSSION

An Editorial

WE PUBLISH in this issue the complete text of a statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Stalin discussion.

This discussion, now going on among the various Communist Parties, is something new in the history of the Communist movements.

It is a fraternal, critical discussion, conducted on an equal basis among Marxists who are seeking the scientific answers to profound questions of importance to themselves, to the workingclass and to the general cause of democracy and socialism.

This discussion confounds the foes of socialism who insist that there is nothing new in the Communist movements and that the unmistakable evidence of independence and equality is all a "plot."

The recent declaration of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia stated that the "delegations have agreed, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to a prompt mutual cooperation and exchange of views in the field of socialist scientific thought both in

their mutual relations and in the international workers' movement in general."

It is in this spirit that various Communist Parties, including the American, raised questions regarding the speech of Nikita Khrushchev on Stalin—particularly with regard to the need for a deeper explanation of the errors and crimes ascribed to Stalin.

In the latest chapter in this discussion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has now given its reply to some of these questions. Many Marxists will feel satisfied with the answers which the Soviet Communist Party now presents. Many will feel that the final answers still need to be found and that the discussion must continue.

The Daily Worker will have more to say on the Soviet Communist Party's statement in the future and we will keep our readers informed, as the discussion goes on, of the views of Marxists here and throughout the world.

A deeper probing of the errors in the Soviet Union can only result in speeding the profound changes already getting under way in that country. It can be of invaluable help to the Communist movements elsewhere, and to the cause of co-existence and world peace.

Daily Worker, New York, July 8 1956

Dennis Comments on Soviet CP Statement

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, yesterday issued the following comment on the recent resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"The Soviet Communist Party's resolution is a most welcome development in the friendly interchange of opinion among Marxists of the world. It correctly turns attention to the profound significance of its 20th Congress, with its historic decisions paving the way for new socialist advances and its far-reaching conclusions on the non-inevitability of war and the possibility for peaceful paths to Socialism in democratic countries.

"The resolution correctly estimates the sinister aims of those reactionary circles who would bury the tremendous achievements of the 20th Congress under an avalanche of speculation about the re-evaluation of Stalin. It coincides with our estimate that reactionary circles here and elsewhere are trying to distort and utilize Khrushchev's special report on Stalin to disrupt

the solidarity of the international working class movement. These 'cold war' forces are not interested in making peaceful co-existence a settled national policy; they seek to prolong world tensions and maintain a suicidal arms race. They vainly seek to frustrate the will of the peoples for world peace which was reflected at Bandung and Geneva and continues to grow.

"In my opinion the resolution of the CPSU goes a long way in explaining—while clearly not justifying—what has become known as the growth of the cult of the individual and the unforgiveable violations of Socialist legality and principles that took place in the latter period of Stalin's leadership. The substance of this matter will be discussed shortly by our National Committee which will then collectively express its views."

Matter of FactBy Joseph and Stewart Alsop

Was Stalin Murdered?

ABOUT A WEEK after Joseph Stalin died, one of these reporters had a long talk with George Kennan, who had very recently been recalled as Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Kennan ventured a prediction about the future and a guess about the immediate past, and both are worth recalling in view of what has happened since.

Kennan's prediction was that Stalin might very well become within a few years the chief ideological devil of the Soviet Union and world communism. It seemed a strange notion at the time, since Khrushchev and Company in Moscow, and all important Communists elsewhere, were vying with each other in fulsome tributes to the "great lost leader." But in the light of recent events, Kennan's prediction about the future lends added weight to his guess about the past.

Kennan's guess was that the men around Stalin had murdered him, or at least been implicated in his death. He had, Kennan said, no solid evidence that Stalin had been murdered, any more than he had solid evidence that Stalin would become an ideological devil. In both cases, it was a matter of atmosphere and of instinct. Kennan vividly described the atmosphere in Moscow which he had so recently left—the fear and hatred of the old tyrant so thick in the air that you could almost smell it.

IF STALIN was not a madman before he died, Kennan said, he was just this side of madness—a judgment fully vindicated by Nikita Khrushchev's hair-raising description of Stalin's last years. It seemed to Kennan a reasonable conjecture that Stalin's subordinates had done away with him,

not only to save their own lives but because the structure of Soviet power might be endangered by the dictator's near madness.

Kennan's guess was only a guess, and there is still no positive proof that Stalin was murdered. But if you re-read Khrushchev's famous speech, in which he denounced Stalin as a murderer, and consider other recent events in the light of Kennan's guess, it begins to seem rather like the missing piece of a puzzle.

Why, for example, did Khrushchev make his speech at all? This is the question which has mystified all the experts. Before the speech Kennan's successor, the able Charles E. Bohlen, and every other diplomatic observer in Moscow had reported that the Khrushchev-Bulganin regime was solidly installed. For more than a year a carefully planned process of chipping away at Stalin's reputation had been in progress.

WHY, THEN, should Khrushchev abandon the chisel for the meat axe and hack away so ruthlessly at the memory of the dead dictator? He no doubt underestimated the risks he was taking, but he is a shrewd man, and he must have known that the risks were real and grave. Why take them?

If Kennan's guess was accurate, the answer is clear. A collective sense of blood guilt can be a source of unity, and could in part explain why the "collective leadership" has worked successfully, contrary to many expert predictions. But blood guilt can also be a source of danger, the danger of blackmail by a party to the secret. There are two ways of dealing with such a danger. There is Stalin's way, killing all who knew the secret. The other way is to transform the

act itself into a necessary and even laudable one.

Certain passages of Khrushchev's speech also take on a new meaning in the light of Kennan's guess. For example, Khrushchev singled out Molotov and Mikoyan by name, and said that even they would not have survived had Stalin lived.

Mikoyan and Molotov, Kennan has speculated, are precisely the two men who were almost certainly not implicated in Stalin's death—Mikoyan hated Stalin, but he is a cautious man, and Molotov retained to the end a spaniel-like devotion to his cruel master. Thus Khrushchev's words may have been a warning and a reminder. The whole tone of Khrushchev's speech, in fact, with its repeated emphasis on Stalin as a murderer, supports Kennan's conjecture for murder is the natural retribution for murder.

FINALLY, there is the more recent mystery. Why did Pravda, Khrushchev's own party newspaper, publish an article by the American Communist Eugene Dennis, criticizing Khrushchev by name, and asking why he and his colleagues did nothing to prevent Stalin's crimes? Such an article in the Soviet press has always been the prelude to an official answer. Might not the answer be that Khrushchev and his colleagues did indeed do something, and something rather drastic and decisive to curb the murdering tyrant?

Perhaps it will never be known for certain whether Kennan's conjecture was as accurate as his prediction. But at least Kennan's guess throws an interesting new light on the events which have shaken the whole structure of Soviet power.

Washington Daily News
July 9 1956

Soviet Signs in the Wind

By Ludwell Denny



PARIS, July 9—The West is watching two tests this week of the Soviet "new look."

One is the treatment of the Poles arrested in the Poznan massacre. The other will be the Moscow meeting of the Supreme Soviet Wednesday.

The de-Stalinization campaign has been an attempt to persuade the Russians, their satellite peoples, the neutral countries and the NATO nations to trust a regime which nobody trusts in fact—not even the

communists.

This was to be done by making Stalin the sole criminal for all the long bloody record shared by Stalinist Khrushchev and Co.

Under this "change," the Russian people would work harder, the satellites would prefer chains to freedom, the neutral countries would become "peace partners" of Moscow, and NATO defense would melt away under the warmth of Soviet smiles and arms "reduction."

THIS trick worked well—up to a point. It won some co-operation inside Russia and the satellites. It softened up Marshal Tito and lured Yugoslavia back toward the fold. It brought more countries into the neutral camp, and spread appeasement in the West.

But the Soviet trick was not quite perfect. There could be no obvious return to the "old look" without flaking the whitewash off Khrushchev and Co.

The satellite peoples, encouraged by the slight relaxing, soon began to ask when their Stalinist dictators would be fired and when they were going to get more bread and freedom. Allied governments began to ask when Khrushchev was going to submit his

"Disarmament" to an International Inspection Enforcement agency, and make good his pledge for German reunification and free elections in the Soviet zone.

Some answers are now in. The others will be indicated at least in part by the Poznan "trials" and the Supreme Soviet meeting.

Kremlin acts already prove there is no basic change in foreign policy. But many intellectuals, laborites and nationalists of Western Europe are still hopeful of a "basic change" in Kremlin criminality and aggression.

Hence the importance of Poznan. The ruthless massacre of Polish demonstrators crying for bread is hard for any non-communist to explain away.

Therefore, the Socialist International Organization, the European committees, bi-partisan groups of British and other parliamentary members, the trades unions and even neutralist newspapers, are demanding a public, fair trial for the imprisoned Poznan demonstrators.

Of course, nobody will ever know how many have been executed. But unless the Kremlin permits the Polish puppet dictatorship to hold a few show trials and release some innocent victims of its fantastic "foreign agent" charge, Khrushchev's de-Stalinization propaganda will begin to flop, everywhere.

THE Kremlin's problem before the rubber-stamp Supreme Soviet is less dramatic but similar to the Polish problem—how to depounce Stalin without de-Stalinizing? How to maintain a dictatorship without police state terror now? Above all how to give the Soviet and satellite slaves more bread without cutting back heavy industry priorities for global supremacy?

One easy answer will be shouted to all these questions: "American imperialists and militarists are to blame for everything—including Stalin." That's not as effective propaganda as it used to be. The Kremlin is beginning to hurt.

Foreign Affairs

Can Communism Face Its Inner Crisis?

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS, June 30—There are indications that the Big Thaw in the Soviet orbit may be getting out of hand. Polish riots are but one symptom of the agonies and perplexities resulting from relaxation. Communist leaders both from satellite and Western European parties are slipping off to Moscow to solicit advice.

The organizational bosses in Italy, France, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and possibly Hungary have either gone or sent trusted agents to the Soviet Union to find out what is going on. They are likely to be startled.

For Khrushchev has resolved to let the Russian people in on the open secret of his anti-Stalin views. He had already disclosed these to the February Bolshevik Congress and distributed various documents supporting his diatribe. Substantial portions of his speech have been printed and sent out to party agitators both within the U. S. S. R. and the satellites.

The Next Steps

Now he has decided to go further. Next month, when the Supreme Soviet meets, the "Stalin Constitution" of 1936 will be revised. Furthermore, the entire text of the famous February speech will be published. Moscow contends that the State Department's version is incomplete.

Together with this sensational document the Bolshevik leadership plans to circulate Lenin's so-called "testament," in which the first revolutionary boss denigrated Stalin. Finally the minutes of the Central Committee meeting in which Stalin was named general secretary of the party and promised faithfully to follow in Lenin's footsteps will be printed.

The East German Precedent

It is unlikely that even the bloody Poznan strike will deter Khrushchev from this audacious program. For,

unhappily enough, the uprising seems doomed to go down in history as a repetition of the huge 1953 demonstrations in East Germany.

In that instance the Western World sat by uncomfortably while Soviet troops and tanks squashed incipient rebellion. Then the puppet Pankow Government revised a few of its most irritating restrictive measures that had driven the workers to desperation.

An Awkward Position

Certain observers feel the Polish police authorities must have known in advance that some form of action was contemplated in Poznan. They may even have planned to permit it—until it got out of hand. In any event, however, the local militia and army appear amply strong to quell it without visible Soviet assistance.

If this proves to be the case, the West will again be left in the embarrassed position of supporting freedom and advocating it in its official propaganda but proving powerless to really help. It is much like the legend of the Italian officer during World War I who summoned his platoon around him in a trench, shouted "Avanti" and rushed off on a charge. "Bravo" shouted his soldiers, laying down their arms to watch him and applaud.

Lack of Consultation

Unfortunately, despite the urging of many diplomatic experts, the Allied powers never got together after the East German insurrection to decide what, if anything, could be done were such an uprising to recur behind the Iron Curtain. The answer certainly is not easy. But there is no evidence that the West has ever seriously sought to find it or to coordinate its own position.

Surely this is now urgently necessary. For, after the meetings of Communist leaders commencing in Moscow and after the sensational developments contemplated at next month's gathering of the Supreme Soviet, a new wave of reactions, hopes, debates and possibly turbulence may again shiver through the orbit.

Communist Worries

Khrushchev is making an extraordinary experiment with forms of liberty and independent thinking

to which the people of the U. S. S. R. are not accustomed. Therefore, even the most expert Communist politicians cannot with certainty predict eventual results. But, while Russia has been habituated to Bolshevik dictatorship for almost four decades and to Czarist autocracy for many centuries, no such submissive traditions are inherent in the satellites.

This is clearly what worries the delegates from the East European capitals who are seeking counsel in Moscow. How are they to ration original thinking among their resentful populations when the food for thought is being ladled out right in the Kremlin? And how, ask the party bosses of Italy and France, are they to keep their organizations together as vibrant political forces when all the idols they have been trained to adore are being toppled?

The great paradox of communism is being unveiled to those who worship it. This is the proof, as cited by Khrushchev, that the most evil type of classical dictatorship cannot only occur but can develop in its most abhorrent form within a classless society. Obviously this proves the dialectics of Marxism-Leninism must be wrong. What, the Communists must be inquiring of each other, can be done about this startling fact they now acknowledge? Is Poznan—and brutal repression—again to be the only answer?

Washington Evening Star
July 9 1956

Orwell in Pravda

In connection with their continuing de-Stalinization program (it might also be called a fumigating operation), Russia's "collective leaders" have been at pains to declare that theirs is "a truly democratic popular regime." However, speaking through a follow-up editorial in Pravda, they have hastened to add that nothing could be more foolish than suggestions from the outside world that the Kremlin may in due course permit the establishment of opposition political parties in the Soviet Union.

To Westerners, of course, it is an absolute contradiction in terms for any government to say that it presides over a "democracy" while at the same time severely proclaiming that it will tolerate the existence of no political party other than its own. But Mr. Khrushchev and his colleagues—expert as they are in the totalitarian art of turning reality and the meaning of words completely upside down—have given us a typical Communist explanation of this most ingenious and absurd paradox. Reading like something from George Orwell's "Animal Farm" or "1984," it is an explanation that ought to be mulled over by all who have entertained the hope that post-Stalin Russia may now be starting to move, slowly but surely, toward genuine freedom.

As set forth in Pravda, the explanation begins by asking why there is only one political organization in the USSR.

There then follows an answer that upends all common sense and chops logic to the point of massacre. But let the "collective leaders" speak for themselves in this gem of Orwellian fantasy. As they portray it, the Soviet Union—unlike "bourgeois" countries, which are made up of many clashing groups—is a fully "unified society" so blessedly lacking in "antagonistic classes" and so much in agreement with itself that "there is no social ground . . . for the creation and existence of other parties in addition to the Communist Party." Hence, in Pravda's words, "the Communist Party has been and will be the only master of the minds and thoughts" and actions of the Russian people.

Moreover, emphasizing that they "are in no need" of any other kind of political representation, Pravda quotes from Lenin to warn that the Russian people must work with "absolute subordination" under the "iron discipline" of the Communist Party. This says about all that needs to be said at the moment. Clearly, even with Stalin dead and defamed, the Soviet "democracy" apparently intends to remain essentially as hard and as despotic a taskmaster as ever. And inherent in it—despite the present "collective" and smiling nature of its dictatorship—is the substance of a tyranny still capable of committing crimes at least as vast and monstrous as its predecessor's. The free world would be recklessly wishful to think otherwise.

New York Times

July 5 1956

THE SOVIET "EXPLANATION"

Responding to the clamor created by the State Department's publication of Khrushchev's secret attack on Stalin, the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee has issued an answer designed to still unrest among foreign Communists. Whether it will achieve that objective remains to be seen. Italian Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti has indicated approval of the new statement but has not retracted his original assertions about Soviet "degeneration." The Daily Worker here has indicated that not all American Communists may be fully satisfied.

Fortunately, we of the free world are not subject to any compulsion to follow Moscow blindly. Examining the new Soviet Communist statement objectively, it soon becomes clear that it is a dishonest document, based upon false premises and deliberately aimed to divert attention from the really basic questions raised by Stalin's crimes. There is even considerable naïveté in the statement, as when it asserts that no capitalist country would ever admit to making mistakes. Whoever wrote that seems to have forgotten that in free countries it is precisely the function of opposition parties and of the free press to point out such mistakes. Only in a one-party dictatorship can the ruling group hide monstrous crimes, as was done in Russia for so long.

What emerges most clearly from the statement is that the present rulers in Moscow refuse to account for their own personal role in Stalin's criminal rule. Their pretense that they dared not move against Stalin because he was so "popular" is obviously nonsense. They were Stalin's closest henchmen, creatures he had elevated to positions of power and privilege. When he died, their claim to continued power was that they had been his closest "comrades at arms." While he lived, they led the chorus of sycophantic adulation for Stalin. How can they now escape responsibility as his accomplices?

The statement also makes clear that the present rulers wish to assure perpetuation of their dictatorial rule. They repeat again the myth that the means of production are in the hands of the workers and peasants. They deny that the bases of

Stalinist misrule must be sought in the Soviet system. The former assertion is patently disproved by Khrushchev's own description of Stalin's absolute power. The latter denial is an astounding rejection of Marxism by men who claim to be Marxists. Stalin could never have achieved his absolute power if there were not strong forces within the country whom his rule benefited. Those forces, of course, came from the bureaucracy which ruled under him, oppressed the great majority of Soviet people and diverted to itself and its own consumption a vastly disproportionate portion of the national income. A leading Hungarian writer recently described his country's Government as a "regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats." Was that not the nature of Stalin's regime yesterday, and of his successors' regime today?

Moscow's statement attempts to justify Stalin's dictatorship on the ground it was necessary to combat external enemies and to transform the Soviet Union. The first justification is a lie, as shown by the ease with which Hitler and Stalin joined together in 1939 to partition Poland.

The two dictators showed then they had much more in common than either had with the democracies. The real reason for the dictatorship was that Stalin's regime conducted a bitter war against the great majority of its people. No democratic society could have robbed the Soviet peasantry of its land and forced the enormous sacrifices required to build up Soviet heavy industry at such a breakneck pace. It is the fact of this war against the Soviet people which Moscow fears to face, for in this facet of the matter are concealed Stalinist crimes, which are also crimes of the present rulers.

It would have been unreasonable to expect a straightforward accounting from those now ruling in Moscow. Such an accounting would require a really revolutionary, democratic transformation of the Soviet Union. But the effort to unload all Soviet crimes on the sole personality of Stalin necessarily involves so many internal untruths and contradictions that it cannot long fool anyone who can think for himself. An explanation that does not really explain cannot end the turmoil that has been growing in recent months.

Wash. Evening Star
June 30, 1956

Explosion at Poznan

Like the East Germans in June of 1953, the Poles of Poznan have now erupted into a world-resounding explosion of pent-up feelings against Communist-imposed hunger and tyranny. At a cost of much bloodshed, their brief uprising apparently has been suppressed. But what they have done—as rank-and-file workers bravely defying the tanks and guns of the Red regime—represents a spirit that is ineradicable, and there can be no doubt that it is a spirit shared by the vast majority of their countrymen.

The Polish people, after all, are overwhelmingly Catholic. More than that, throughout the centuries of their history, there has been bred into their blood and bones an intense sense of nationalism intermingled with a profound hostility toward Russian imperialism, czarist and Soviet alike. Repeatedly in the past, just as now, they have demonstrated—sometimes with what might be called a reckless but altogether admirable romanticism—a devotion to independence so deep and fierce as to make them fight for their own, regardless of cost, even against the worst kind of odds. The Poznan “revolt” is one example of this exceptional trait of theirs, and another can be found in the story of how their cavalry—armed only with sabers—threw itself unflinchingly against the massive armor of Hitler’s invading legions.

So it is not surprising that these people have regarded the Kremlin-serving Warsaw regime as an alien and hateful thing ever since it was imposed on them. In recent weeks, in keeping with Moscow’s de-Stalinization program, the regime has proclaimed numerous liberalizing reforms—more of them, in fact, than in any other Soviet satellite—but this sop-throwing program has not been good enough or thorough enough to satisfy the great mass of Poles. Their violent march in Poznan is proof of that—an uprising reflecting not only a desperate desire for an end to miserably low living standards, but also a passionate yearning for independence. Their hunger, in short, is not for bodily food alone, but for the substance of national freedom as well—a hunger to be rid of the Red tyranny, a hunger to be genuinely their own masters.

What remains to be seen now is whether the post-Stalin Kremlin, operating through the Warsaw Communists, will react with savage measures, or whether—as in East Germany three years ago—some placating moves will be made. The answer, one way or the other, should become clear in due course. Meanwhile, whatever may develop in the form of oppression or concession, the world can be sure of this: That the Poznan explosion, far from being a mere flash of temporary temper, is symptomatic of the volcanic pro-freedom forces that rumble everywhere beneath the seemingly solid surface of the Red empire.

N. Y. N. Y.

JUN 29 1956

The Big Question

The gist of most of the Communist reaction outside the Iron Curtain to the attacks upon Josef Stalin has been to agree that the late dictator was (in Eugene Dennis' words) guilty of "crimes and brutalities." But they have also asked some questions of the present "collective leadership"—comprising men who were high in Stalin's councils. "Did any of them," wrote Mr. Dennis in the New York "Daily Worker," "attempt to change anything in the period which preceded the last three years? Could one have stopped the evil goings-on earlier?"

This, of course, is the big question. It applies not only to Khrushchev & Co.—although with most force to them—but to every one, including Mr. Dennis, who slavishly followed the Stalinist line while the Red emperor was alive and only dared speak of his crimes after he was dead and repudiated by his successors. For the crimes of Stalin were not news to any literate person when Khrushchev listed them. They had been published and republished in the press of the free world. Mr. Khrushchev supplied some pertinent details, but the most important fact of his speech was that he made it at all, and acknowledged the truth of what the world knew, but the Communists would not admit. By so doing, he opened the door to questions concerning his own role—and that of Premier Bulganin, and the rest of the Soviet hierarchy.

Long experience of Communist discipline in the face of the twists of Soviet policy naturally makes the free peoples suspicious of the unanimity with which the Communists outside the Soviet Union walked through that door, and asked the questions. It could well be that the ground is being prepared, as official Washington assumes, for a calculated answer, one that will serve the current party purpose of making itself attractive to "popular front" movements and nationalist drives throughout the world. It could also be, as Mr. Dulles suggests, that this process of criticism of the Soviet leaders by their hitherto subservient tools in other lands may get out of hand, and

that discipline may never be restored. But there will have to be much more evidence, much clearer indications of the drift of Communist policy, before that possibility can be taken as a solid basis for Western policy.

Meanwhile, Moscow's answer to its Communist critics will be awaited with skeptical interest. Mr. Khrushchev was very foggy in discussing his own share of responsibility for Stalin's misdeeds. He posed the big question himself: "Where were the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee? Why did they not assert themselves against the cult of the individual in time?" But his answers were hardly complimentary to him or his colleagues.

First, they had supported Stalin as "one of the strongest Marxists." What he had done against the peasants and the workers in enforcing collectivization and industrialization had their approval. Then, when he turned his "terroristic methods" against his own supporters: "Attempts to oppose groundless suspicions and charges resulted in the opponent falling victim of the repression." Finally, the Central Committee was never, and the Politburo seldom, convened. By juggling the administration, Stalin kept it in his own hands or that of his most pliant assistants. But the nub of the matter was that Khrushchev & Co. saw nothing wrong with terrorism until it threatened themselves, and then they were too terrified to oppose it.

These answers do not seem to satisfy the Communists outside the Soviet Union—who are guilty of the same kind of intellectual cowardice. They certainly do not satisfy the free world. If the present Soviet leadership produces new answers, the old must not be forgotten. A system based on fear ruled international Communism under Stalin. Mr. Khrushchev did not attack the system except in one aspect—"the cult of the individual." The system remains—the evil thing has not been wiped out by a speech, nor by the remarkably unanimous reaction of world Communism to that speech.

TIME, JULY 16, 1956

Back to Heel

"It would be wrong," declared the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. last week, "to close one's eyes to the fact that certain of our friends abroad have not got to the bottom of the question of the personality cult." When it comes to getting to the bottom of something, nobody can beat the Kremlin's leaders. Down they went in their hip boots, sloshing around in a swamp of doubletalk, and throwing little bits of misinformation behind them, like cracker crumbs, for those who tried to follow them. But they were not very helpful guides for those who anxiously sought answers to the questions implicit in Khrushchev's historic attack on Stalin at the 20th Party Congress (TIME, June 11).

Moscow's long silence had been desperately hard on Western Communist leaders who, unlike their Russian masters, cannot rely on police terror and a controlled press to maintain discipline among the rank and file. Left to their own devices, men like Italy's Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the biggest Communist Party (2,130,000 members) outside the Iron Curtain, had begun to make their own explanations, and to talk recklessly of "polycentrism," i.e., independent policies for each of the world's Communist parties. Togliatti echoed publicly the unsatisfied questions of his own disillusioned followers: How could a tyrant like Stalin come to power under the Communist system? Why had the Kremlin leaders who now denounced Stalin tolerated his tyranny?

Making Explanations. What Togliatti demanded was a "Marxist" explanation of Stalinism, i.e., an explanation of particular events in terms of vast, impersonal historic forces. One such explanation—and the obvious one—for Stalin's rise to arbitrary power is the absence of checks and balances in the Communist system. Unable to concede this, Moscow's Central Committee offered an explanation which explained nothing: "The development of the personality cult was to an enormous extent contributed to by some individual traits of J. V. Stalin."

Firmly repudiating Togliatti's suggestion that Russia's present leaders were "co-responsible" with Stalin, the Central Committee advanced for the first time the unsubstantiated claim that there had in fact been a staunch "Leninist core" of the Central Committee and that on occasion it opposed Stalin's arbitrary use of power. "There were certain periods, for instance during the war years when the individual acts of Stalin were sharply restricted . . . Members of the Central Committee and

also outstanding Soviet war commanders took over certain sectors of activity in the rear, and at the front made independent decisions."

Who's a Coward? "It might be asked," noted the resolution, "why these people did not take an open stand against Stalin and remove him from leadership." The answer, said the Central Committee, flatly

contradicting Khrushchev's earlier admission that Stalin's subordinates were afraid to risk their necks, was not "that there was a lack of personal courage." It was, rather, that:

¶ "The success of Socialist construction and the consolidation of the U.S.S.R. were attributed to Stalin . . . Anyone who had acted in that situation against Stalin would not have received support from the people."

¶ "Such a stand would have been regarded as . . . a blow against the unity of the party and the whole state."

¶ "The successes which . . . the Soviet Union attained . . . created an atmosphere in which individual mistakes and shortcomings seemed less important."

¶ "Many wrong actions of Stalin, especially as regards the violation of Soviet law, became known only after his death."

Coming from the old Stalin gang, who had prospered under him, executed his will and shared his guilt, this explanation was feeble indeed. In the light of the searching and troubled questions asked by Togliatti, France's Thorez and other party leaders abroad, it was in fact so intellectually weak as to be insulting. Worse yet, from Togliatti's point of view, the resolution contained the first public rebuke he had ever received from Moscow. Snapped the Central Committee: "One cannot in particular agree with Comrade Togliatti when he asks whether Soviet society has not reached 'certain forms of degeneration.' There are no foundations for such a question."

But one thing it did do was to show who was boss. Responding to the whistle like a well-trained dog, Moscow-wise Palmiro Togliatti promptly came to heel. He voiced "unreserved approval" of "the line followed by the Soviet comrades in the construction of a socialist society." Then, to get a little better reading on just what the line was, he dispatched to Moscow a team of three top Italian Communists. In France, party leaders announced that they were satisfied with the explanation too. For the present at least, all the brave talk of polycentrism and individual thinking was at an end. Or supposed to be.

The Stalinists' Case Against Stalin

ISAAC DEUTSCHER

NO ONE who has seen and heard Nikita Khrushchev speaking on a platform or arguing with people will doubt the authenticity of the text, published by the State Department, of his secret speech at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The text probably has its gaps, and here and there the transcript may not be quite accurate. Nevertheless this is the real thing—genuine Khrushchev saying indirectly about himself almost as much as about Stalin.

Yet Khrushchev also gives the impression of an actor who, while he plays his own part with superb self-assurance, is only half aware of his own place in the great, complex, somber drama in which he has been involved. His long monologue is a cry from the heart, a cry about the tragedy of the Russian Revolution and of the Bolshevik Party, but it is only a fragment of the tragedy.

Impromptu Indictment

Khrushchev himself did not expect to burst out with this cry. Only a few days before he made the secret speech, he did not know that he was going to make it, or at any rate he did not know what he was going to say. Even the composition of his speech showed that he spoke more or less impromptu: He dashed from topic to topic almost indiscriminately; he ventured spontaneously into sidelines; and he threw out reminiscences and confidences and asides as they occurred to him. By its irregularity this speech, delivered at the closing session of the Congress, on February 24 and 25,

contrasted curiously with his formal address at the inaugural session ten days earlier. The two speeches contrast strikingly in content as well.

In his inaugural address Khrushchev said, for instance:

"The unity of our party has formed itself in the course of years and tens of years. It has grown and become tempered in the struggle against many enemies. The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, and other most wicked *enemies of the people* [italics ours], champions of a capitalist restoration, made desperate efforts to disrupt from the inside the Leninist unity of our party, and they all have smashed their heads against our unity."

The words might have come straight from Stalin's mouth. But ten days later Khrushchev said:

"It is Stalin who originated the concept 'enemy of the people.' This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man, or men, engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression . . . against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin. . ."

Khrushchev then went on to say that the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and so-called bourgeois nationalists, whatever their faults, were not enemies of the people; that there was no need to annihilate them; and that they "smashed their heads" not against the party's "Leninist unity" but against Stalin's despotism.

Clearly, some dramatic but as yet undisclosed event must have

occurred during those ten days to change Khrushchev's tune so radically, an event which showed Khrushchev that it would not do to sit on the fence and that in the conflict between Stalinism and anti-Stalinism he had to come down on one side or the other. Did perhaps the small band of Old Bolsheviks, wrecks from Stalin's concentration camps who had been brought to the conference hall as guests of honor, stage some demonstration of protest that shook the assembly's conscience? Or were the young delegates, who were brought up in the Stalin cult, so restive after Khrushchev's first ambiguous hints about Stalin (and

even more so after Mikoyan's more outspoken remarks) that they forced him to come out into the open?

Whatever happened, Khrushchev had to produce an answer on the spot, and the answer was an indictment of Stalin. To justify his new attitude, he ordered, no doubt with the Presidium's approval, that Lenin's testament—that long-suppressed testament in which Lenin urged the party to remove Stalin from the post of General Secretary—be distributed among the delegates.

To the student of Soviet affairs, Khrushchev's disclosures bring little that is really new. A biographer of Stalin finds in them at the most a few more illustrations of familiar points. Khrushchev confirms in every detail Trotsky's account of the relations between Lenin and Stalin toward the end of Lenin's life. Stalin's old critics are also proved right in what they said about his method of collectivization, about the purges, and about the Trotskyite and Bukharinite "fifth columns." Nor is there anything surprising to the historian in Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin's role in the last war and about his miscalculations.

However, it is not from the historian's viewpoint that Khrushchev's performance should be judged. He spoke not to scholars but to men

and women generation; to them his words came as a titanic shock, and as the beginning of a profound mental and moral upheaval.

Consider only how Khrushchev's character sketch of Stalin, drawn haphazardly yet extremely vividly, must affect Communists brought up in the Stalin cult. There they see him now, the "Father of the Peoples," immured as he was in the Kremlin, refusing over the last twenty-five years of his life to have a look at a Soviet village; refusing to step down into a factory and face workers; refusing even to cast a glance at the army of which he was generalissimo, let alone visit the front; spending his life in a half-real, half-fictitious world of statistics and mendacious propaganda films; planning unlevyable taxes; tracing front lines and lines of offensives on a globe on his desk; seeing enemies creeping at him from every nook and cranny; treating the members

of his own Politburo as his contemptible lackeys; denying Voroshilov admission to sessions, slamming the door in Andreyev's face, or upbraiding Molotov and Mikoyan; "choking" his interlocutors "morally and physically"; pulling the wires behind the great purge trials; personally checking and signing 383 black lists with the names of thousands of doomed party members; ordering judges and NKVD men to torture the victims of the purges and to extract confessions; "planning" the deportations of whole peoples and raging impotently at the size of the Ukrainian people, too numerous to be deported; growing sick with envy at Zhukov's military fame; "shaking his little finger" at Tito and waiting for Tito's imminent fall; surrounded by dense clouds of incense and, like an opium eater, craving for more; inserting in his own hand passages of praise to his own "genius"—and to his own modesty!—into his official adulatory biography and into history books; himself designing huge, monstrous-

himself; and himself writing his own name into the new national anthem which was to replace the *Internationale*. Thus did Khrushchev expose before his party the huge, grim, whimsical, morbid monster before whom the Communist world lay prostrate for a quarter of a century.

And yet Khrushchev added: "Stalin was convinced that all this was necessary for the defense of the interests of the working classes against the plotting of the enemies and against the attack of the imperialist camp." When he surmised that even those who stood closest to him did not share his phobias and suspicions, Stalin wrung his hands in despair: "What will you do without me?" he growled. "You are all blind . . . !" "He saw this," Khrushchev assured the Congress again, "from the position of the interest of the working class . . . of socialism and Communism. We cannot say that these were the deeds of a giddy despot. . . . In this lies the whole tragedy!"

Inverted Hero Cult

The mainspring of the tragedy still remained hidden from Khrushchev. His whole speech was full of the denunciation of the hero cult; yet it was nothing but inverted hero cult. Its only theme was the power, the superhuman power, of the usurper who "placed himself above the party and above the masses." In passage after passage Khrushchev argued that all the evil from which the Communist Party, the Soviet people, and the international labor movement suffered for so long sprang from this one "individual." Then he said in quite as many passages that it was utterly wrong to imagine that one man could exercise so much influence on history, for the real makers of Soviet history have been the masses, the people, and the "militant Bolshevik Party" bred and inspired by Lenin.

Where then was that "militant party" when Stalin "placed himself above it?" Where was its militancy and its Leninist spirit? Why and

the despot impose his will on the masses? And why did "our heroic people" submit so passively?

All these questions, which have so close a bearing on the Marxist *Weltanschauung*, Khrushchev left unanswered. Yet if one agrees that history is made not by demigods but by masses and social classes, one has still to explain the rise of this particular demigod; and one can explain it only from the condition of Soviet society, the interests of the Bolshevik Party, and the state of mind of its leadership. But no sooner have we descended with Khrushchev to this level of recent Soviet history than his lamp is blown out and we are once again enveloped by dark and impenetrable fumes.

Three Phases

The political evolution of the Soviet régime falls into three main phases. In the first the Bolsheviks under Lenin seized power and established the single-party system, in which they saw the only way to preserve their government and safeguard the October Revolution against domestic and foreign foes. But having suppressed all other ties, the Bolshevik Party itself split into several mutually hostile factions. The single-party system turned out to be a contradiction in terms: The party was breaking into at least three.

In the second phase the rule of the single party was replaced by the rule of a single Bolshevik faction—that led by Stalin. The principle of the "monolithic" party was proclaimed. Only a party that does not permit diverse currents of opinion in its midst, Stalin argued, can safeguard its monopoly of power. However, the victorious faction, once it gained power, was in turn torn by internal rivalries.

In the third phase, the rule of the single faction gave way to the rule of the single leader, who by the nature of the whole process had to be intolerant of any potential challenge to his authority—constantly on his guard, constantly bent on

enforcing his will.

Even while the Bolshevik Party was suppressing all other parties, up to 1921 it was still internally free and democratically ruled. But having deprived others of freedom, it could hardly help losing its own freedom. Subsequently, the same thing happened to the Stalinist faction. Between 1923 and 1930 it destroyed "inner party democracy" for its opponents, but internally was still more or less democratically ruled.

From phase to phase the monopoly of power grew ever narrower. As it became so, it had to be defended ever more fiercely. The early Bolsheviks cherished controversy too much to be able to enforce the ban on disagreement outside the party with anything like the Stalinist violence. Even the Stalinist faction, before it succumbed to Stalin, only expelled its opponents and exiled them rather than executing them.

However, what gave the whole development its momentum and its convulsive and cruel character were the social tensions in a nation first ruined and lamished after seven years of war, revolution, and civil war, then rushed through forcible industrialization and collectivization and drawn into devastating armament races. All this called for heavy sacrifice, rigid discipline, and massive coercion, and all provided Stalin with the justifications and pretexts for his use and abuse of the monopoly of power.

STALIN did not, thus, appear as a *diabolus ex machina*. Yet it was as a *diabolus ex machina* that Khrushchev presented him.

It is not difficult to grasp why Khrushchev views Stalin in this light. He and his colleagues represent the Stalinist faction, or rather what has remained of it. It is a different faction from the one of twenty years ago. It rules a different country—the world's second industrial power. It leads a different "socialist camp"—a camp that contains one-third of mankind. It is richer in experience, and is anxious to under-

stand what has happened to it. It is probing restlessly into its own mysterious past. But this is still the Stalinist faction, caught in the tangle of its own experiences and its traditional but now untenable viewpoints.

The Tangle of Reasoning

Khrushchev has described how the members of the Presidium, the men who rule the Soviet Union and manage its vast nationalized economy (the world's greatest single industrial concern), spend their days and weeks poring over the archives of the NKVD, questioning the officials who once conducted purges and extracted confessions, and reliving in their thoughts the long nightmare of the past. Yet the understanding of which the members of this Presidium are capable—especially the older ones—has its historically formed limitations, which they cannot easily transcend. They cannot see where and why things had "gone wrong." They would like to cross out, if possible, the last chapter of their story—the one in which Stalin oppressed and "betrayed" his own followers. They would still like to think that what was done in the earlier chapters was justified and beneficial and need not have led to the final debacle and shame. They would like to remain Stalinists without and against Stalin, and to recapture the spirit of the "sane" and "innocent" Stalinism of the 1920's, of that Stalinism which had not yet soaked its hands in the blood of the Bolshevik Old Guard and in the blood of masses of peasants and workers. They do not realize that the latter-day "insane" Stalinism had sprung from the earlier "sane" Stalinism, and that it was not only Stalin's whimsical and cruel character that was responsible for it.

This approach governs all of Khrushchev's reasoning as revealed in the February 24-25 speech. It dictates the range and nature of his disclosures. Because Khrushchev pleaded the case of the old Stalinist faction "betrayed" by Stalin, his evi-

dence against Stalin showed huge gaps and was all too often ambiguous, in spite of the bluntness of the language he used and the shocking character of his facts.

Significant Omissions

Khrushchev built his case against Stalin on three sets of facts: Lenin's denunciation, in his testament, of Stalin's "rudeness and disloyalty," Stalin's role in the purges, and the faults of Stalin's leadership in the war. Under each count of the indictment he treated the facts selectively so as to turn the evidence against Stalin himself rather than against the Stalinist faction.

He conjured up Lenin's ghost, because only with this ally at his side could he, after thirty years of Stalin worship, hope to obliterate Stalin. He quoted from Lenin's testament the passages aimed directly against Stalin, but he passed over in silence all that Lenin had said in favor of Trotsky and Bukharin. He assured his hearers that he now views "objectively and with detachment" the party feuds; but he still labeled Trotsky and Bukharin "enemies of Leninism," although they were no longer "enemies of the people." In the light of Lenin's full testament, Trotskyism and Bukharinism may be seen as offspring of the Leninist line at least as legitimate as even the early Stalinism. The testament has therefore not been published in Russia even now—it was distributed only to the delegates at the Twentieth Congress. And even in his secret speech Khrushchev was afraid of making too extensive use of it.

Even more eloquent were the gaps in Khrushchev's story of the purges. He began with dark hints about the assassination of Kirov in 1934, the event that set in motion the avalanche of terror. He alluded to Stalin's connivance at the crime but added that nothing was certain; and he left the mystery as deep as ever. Then he gave a more or less detailed and horrifying account of the secret purges of Eikhe, Postyshev, Kosior, Chubar, Mezhlauk, and Rudzutak, who perished between 1937 and

1940, and of the purge of Voznesensky in 1951. But he had nothing explicit to say about the purge trials of 1936-1938, which shocked the world and in which the defendants were men of world fame, the recognized leaders of Bolshevism, the Red Army, Soviet diplomacy, and the Communist International.

He revealed nothing of the inner story of the purges of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Radek, Rakovsky, Pyatakov, and Tukhachevsky. He was silent on Trotsky's assassination, which was instigated by Stalin and Beria. Eikhe, Postyshev, and Chubar were by comparison insignificant figures. Their names meant little or nothing—not only to the outside world but even to the young Soviet generation. But they were men of the Stalinist faction; and through Khrushchev, the faction honored in them its martyrs.

Not for nothing did Khrushchev dwell so much on the fortunes of the delegates to the Seventeenth Party Congress held in 1934. (At that assembly the Stalinist faction celebrated its final triumph over all its adversaries, and in party annals the Congress is referred to as the "Victors' Congress.") Of nearly two thousand of the "victors," about sixty per cent were later, according to Khrushchev, "arrested on charges of counterrevolutionary crimes." In the years 1934-1938 alone, Stalin annihilated sixty or seventy per cent of the leaders of his own faction, and there were uncounted victims among the rank and file.

In recent years public opinion outside Russia has been aware of the fate of anti-Stalinist victims of the terror. It is only right that it should also be aware of the fate of Stalinist victims. But do not Khrushchev and his associates feel the indecency of their exclusive concentration on their own Stalinist martyrs?

One Man to Blame

Throughout Khrushchev's indictment of Stalin ran the *motif* of self-exculpation.

Everything depended on the willfulness of one man," Khrushchev said repeatedly. But if so, "comrades may ask us: Where were the members of the Political Bureau . . . ? Why did they not assert themselves . . . ? Why is this being done

only now?" Unwittingly he demonstrated that much more was in play than the "willfulness of one man." Stalin had so much scope only because Khrushchev and his like accepted his will.

Khrushchev recalled how at first they all trusted Stalin and zealously followed him in the struggle against other factions until they made him so powerful that they themselves became powerless. He showed that even when they might have been able to act against him they did not wish to act. He related that in 1941, when the Red Army reeled under Hitler's first onslaught, Stalin's nerve snapped. It might seem now that this was an opportunity for the party leaders to get rid of him.

Instead they sent a deputation to Stalin to beg him to seize the reins again; and so they condemned themselves and their country to another twelve years of terror and degradation. None of them had the confidence and courage of Trotsky, who as early as 1927 foresaw such a turn of events and said (in his famous "Clemenceau Thesis") that in such a crisis it would be the duty of party leaders to overthrow Stalin to wage war more efficiently.

The Politburo of 1941, fearing that a change of leadership in the middle of a war would destroy morale, rallied to its oppressor. It should be noted that this was not the first situation of this kind. In exactly the same way, the Politburo had hoisted a dejected and sulking Stalin back into the saddle nine years earlier at the height of collectivization. In every major emergency the Politburo felt the need of the "strong arm," and it turned to Stalin only to suffer under that strong arm for years. It so magnified

his authority that it never felt it had enough authority to take his place. Because the history of the Soviet Union was one sequence of emergencies, the Stalinist faction was always at an impasse.

THE QUESTION inevitably arises whether during all those years no members of the ruling group made any attempt to destroy the incubus. It would have been unnatural if no plots at all had been hatched against Stalin. If Khrushchev and his colleagues really thought that "it all depended on the willfulness of one man" (which Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev never thought), might not some of them have concluded that the way out was to eliminate that "one man?" Khrushchev tells us that Postyshev, Rudzutak, and other leading Stalinists did indeed come into opposition to Stalin. But here too he leaves many things unsaid; and so the full story of the Stalinist opposition to Stalin remains to be disclosed.

The historian finds a further contradiction in Khrushchev's testimony, one that it has in common with Trotsky's appraisal of Stalin, although in Khrushchev the contradiction is, of course, far cruder. Khrushchev stressed the achievements as well as the failures of the Stalin era. For the achievements—industrial advance, educational progress, planned economy, victory in war—he praised the masses, the people, the party, Leninist doctrine, and even the Central Committee—the cowed and docile Central Committee of the Stalin era. For the failures he blamed Stalin alone.

If the qualities of one man were responsible for the Soviet military disasters of 1941, were they not also in some measure responsible for the victories of 1943-1945? If all major decisions on policy and strategy were taken by Stalin alone, then it is at least illogical to deny Stalin all credit for the results.

At times Khrushchev's argument savored of Tolstoy: In *War and Peace* Tolstoy argued that all ideas,

plans, and decisions conceived by emperors, generals, and "great men" were meaningless and worthless, and that only the innumerable, spontaneous, and unco-ordinated actions of nameless masses of people shaped history. But Tolstoy was consistent: He attributed to "great men" no special influence on history, for evil any more than for good.

The Semi-Alibi

No matter how vigorously Khrushchev pleaded the alibi for himself and the present ruling group, he proved a semi-alibi only. As a prosecutor he could hardly convince a jury that he has not been the defendant's accomplice—at best he made himself an accomplice under duress. He spoke of Beria as that "villain who climbed up the government ladder over an untold number of corpses." How true! But was Beria alone? Khrushchev described with horror the character of a former official who took part in preparing the purges of 1937-1938 and in extracting confessions. The official was brought before the Presidium and questioned. He was, said Khrushchev, "a vile person, with the brain of a bird, and morally completely degenerate." What did this repulsive character claim in his defense? His plea, as reported by Khrushchev, was that he acted on higher orders which he understood it be his duty as a party member to carry out. Khrushchev indignantly rejected this apology as worthless. Yet almost in the same breath he used the same apology for himself and the other members of the Politburo: Under Stalin, he said, "no one could express his will."

THE TRAGEDY of contemporary Russia is that the whole elite of the nation share in one degree or another Stalin's guilt. Certainly no one in Moscow who would set himself up today as Stalin's accuser and

judge could prove his own alibi. Stalin made of the whole nation, at any rate of all its educated and active elements, his accomplices. Those who opposed him perished, with very, very few exceptions, long ago.

Khrushchev exposed not only Stalin but Stalinism, not only the man but his method of government, and this rendered the continuation or revival of the method nearly impossible. He set out to state only the case of the Stalinist faction against Stalin, and he destroyed the case of the Stalinist faction. Willy-nilly, he exploded the idea of the monolithic party and of the monolithic state in which all must think alike.

Having produced the shock, Khrushchev was anxious to soften its impact. "We cannot let this matter get out of the party, especially not to the press," he warned his listeners. "It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits; we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes." However, one may even suspect that the indiscretion that allowed the State Department to act as Khrushchev's first publisher was not unwelcome to Moscow. It is from the mass of the Soviet people that his speech has been kept secret so far.

The New Leader

June 18, 1956

**Founder of Soviet Communism set precedents
for almost all of Stalin's later crimes**

BACK TO LENIN

By Mark Vishniak

"There was nothing intrinsic in the Leninist method that protected it from prostitution. . . . Stalin became a tyrant because he was all-powerful and not all-powerful because he was by nature a tyrant. He grew into tyranny precisely because the character of the Soviet Constitution enabled him to do so."—Aneurin Bevan, Tribune, March 23, 1956.

DESPITE the efforts of present Soviet leaders to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the wicked Stalin and the virtuous Lenin, Stalin's "cult of personality" was actually reared on a base that Lenin had created: unconditional subservience to the Party's will as expressed through the Central Committee, which in turn was expressed through the Politburo, which was finally directed by the Leader or *Vozhd*.

After Lenin, Stalin became the *Vozhd*. Now Khrushchev & Co. have replaced one-man leadership with collective leadership, swearing allegiance to Lenin and Leninism.

"Collective leadership" is nothing new. It is closely linked with "democratic centralism" and "intra-Party

democracy," about which both Lenin and Stalin wrote quite often. "Democratic centralism" meant officially that "all executive organs of the Party, from the smallest to the highest, are elected." The word "elected"

should, of course, be understood in the light of Soviet practice, which embodies "firm centralization," "iron discipline" and "conscious monolithic unity of will and action" (*Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 13, p. 656). Intra-Party democracy is defined as "the possibility of electing [various] bodies and the necessity of accounting to all leading Party organs from below upward." Intra-Party democracy is also "a collegial work spirit, the developing of criticism and self-criticism."

What is the difference between the new "collective leadership" and "a collegial work spirit"? Under both Lenin and Stalin, the Bolshevik party always contended that it was practicing "intra-Party democracy." It was actually abolished by Stalin, but it had begun to wither under Lenin.

As early as 1921, at the Tenth Party Congress, a resolution of Lenin's was adopted, forbidding the formation of any intra-Party groups on

the ground that this could help only the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. Lenin silenced those who tried to argue with him—Trotsky, Medvedev, Shliapnikov, Kollontay, Bukharin, and others. He expelled from the Central Committee old comrades-in-arms like Preobrazhensky, I. N. Smirnov and Serebryakov. His explanation for forbidding discussion was the existence of "an encircling world bourgeoisie, watching for a minute of wavering to bring back 'their' people to restore the bourgeoisie and landlords." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26, p. 348)

Is this very different from the "capitalist encirclement" which Stalin always cited as justification for his terror apparatus? Stalin physically destroyed the people whom Lenin had only told to "shut their mouths." That is the chief difference between the two.

Stalin drew on Lenin's works for all his shifting theories on the inevitability or non-inevitability of war between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, and on the achievement of world Communism through bloody struggle or through parliamentary means. Even the so-called Stalinist concept of "socialism in one country" had its roots in Lenin's writings of 1916-1923.

I recall only two instances when Stalin differed significantly from Lenin.

Early in 1936, Stalin criticized Lenin's views on Clausewitz. Hiding behind Engels, he wrote: "Unlike Engels, Lenin did not consider himself competent in military matters. . . . Lenin approached Clausewitz's works not as a military man, but as a politician. . . . Therefore, as far as

the criticism of Clausewitz's military doctrine is concerned, we, Lenin's heirs, are not tied to any of Lenin's statements, which only limit our freedom of criticism." This was followed by a quasi-scientific "Marxist" explanation:

"It is ridiculous to take lessons today from Clausewitz, who was, after all, a representative of the *manufacturing* period of war, while we today are in the *machine* period." Despite all this, Stalin concluded with a prolific quotation from Lenin.

The second instance was in the realm of Party practice. After Lenin was shot in August 1918 by Fanya Kaplan, he wasn't sure he could survive and told Rykov, his successor as Premier: "Let no blood be shed among any of you. . . ." Lenin was thinking of the French Revolution, which had devoured its own leaders. Stalin didn't follow Lenin's advice, nor have Stalin's heirs in dealing with Beria, Abakumov, Bagirov and others.

Stalin did follow Lenin's precepts in his ultimate disposition of the peasant problem. At the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921, at which the New Economic Policy was proclaimed, Lenin spoke at length about the necessity of a union between the working class and the peasants, a "soldering" of the two: "We must admit openly that the peasants are not satisfied with the relationship we have worked out with them, they do not like it, they do not want it, and

they won't continue it." Lenin harped on this theme many times in his last 18 months. In May 1921, he said once more: "We say openly and without deception to all peasants: In order to maintain socialism, we shall give you all kinds of concessions, comrade peasants, but *only to a certain extent and within certain limits, and of the latter we'll be the only judges.*" (Italics supplied.)

At the Eleventh Congress, at the end of March 1922, Lenin repeated: "Our aim is to prove and to show how to help the peasants. . . . Either we will do it or the peasants will send us to the devil." Such was Lenin's conclusion after four-and-a-half years of leadership.

Stalin remembered these words and fulfilled them in his own way. When, in 1928, he decided that the time had come to stop concessions to the peasants, he loosed the coercive apparatus at full speed and achieved forced collectivization in record time. Stalin relied both on a Leninist precedent and on Lenin's words after NEP.

The precedent was the formation in the middle of 1918 of what Lenin named "Poor Committees" for "a Crusade for Bread." Those "Poor Committees" (*Kombedy*) comman-

deered peasant "surpluses," "helped" in the harvest, fought the "kulaks," and compelled peasants to join the Red Army. Lenin considered the committees "a great upheaval which in a very short time [half a year] helped us to socialism in the villages." Ten years later, Stalin also led the villages toward socialism via forced confiscation—not only of grain, but of land as well. He used Lenin to back his point. Said Lenin: "The fight is and will be even more desperate and more cruel than the fight against Kolchak and Denikin. . . . One must understand the entire meaning of that fight and convey it to the masses of workers and peasants so that they understand: 'Who will beat whom? Who will win?' *The dictatorship of the proletariat is a fierce, mad struggle in which the proletariat must fight the whole world, because the whole world was against us, having backed Denikin and Kolchak.*"

Both Denikin and Kolchak died long ago, and those who backed them for a short while have also gone.

Lenin and Stalin are dead, but the dictatorship of the Communist party is, unfortunately, still in existence, still fighting all who dare to disagree with it.

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LEADING FIGURES IN COMMUNIST DEBATE—AND WHERE THEY STAND



Communist leaders pictured above are those who seem to have been most specifically affected by de-Stalinization.

Photos by A.D.P., Associated Press, Yugo-Foto, Sovfoto

